Mahesh Sharma

Western Himalayan Temple Records

State, Pilgrimage, Ritual and Legality in Chambā



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By

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PREFACE

Naturalissimum et perfectissimum opus est generare tale quale ipsum est.

("The most natural and perfect work is to generate its like.")

(An alchemist's wisdom, Jung: 223)

Historians have decried the paucity of historical source material on the Himachal region of the Indian Himalayas. This book addresses the problem to an extent by presenting a selection of fifty-four new documents from the erstwhile state of Chambā. Chambā is one of the most historically productive areas, particularly in the context of the Himalayas, yielding a rich source of epigraphic material, inscriptions and copper plate grants, over a millennium—7th century CE to 1948—when it became a part of the Indian nation. Two volumes of Chambā epigraphs, *Antiquities of Chambā*, I and II, by J. Ph. Vogel and by B. Ch. Chhabra, respectively, have already received critical scrutiny. More are yet to come, as there are quite a few epigraphs housed in museums pleading scholarly attention. Significantly, there are other stray collections, like small temples, which are the repositories of such documents. This book provides a selection from one such small temple—the portal of Charpaṭnāth in the town of Chambā. The documents are diverse—from revenue grants to those dealing with ritual, pilgrimage, temple economy in general—detailing the relationship between the state and these small centres; their relationship with the bigger establishments; their influence over the populace; mundane personal matters; notices, petitions and law-suits. It must be remembered that most of these documents were not aimed for public eyes, and therefore provide a flavour of the day to day politics: of strife, cunning and deceit. This is in contrast to the documents consciously fashioned for the future: of grand schemes and achievements!

This book presents all these documents—transcribed and translated, critically annotated, along with facsimiles—for scholarly scrutiny and usage, covering a period from 1760s through 1960s. Since these documents come from a small place and belong to and detail the travails of a still smaller shrine, these would be, one hopes, of much interest as we are accustomed to the documents from prominent temples, particularly from South and Eastern India, for instance Kanchi, Madurai, or Puri,

and prominent dynasties like the Cholas. In contrast, these documents provide us with an insight into how smaller shrines were maintained and, in turn, maintained their affairs; how smaller economies patronized such places of local significance; how a small shrine carved its identity; and, how the state manipulated this identity to create new instruments of legitimation.

These documents ask a different question about authority, legitimation and power, than most studies on the relationship between the temple and state have asked. Almost all the studies have presumed a relationship between the ruling dynasty and the sectarian temple as given, endowed with huge transactional nexus of patronage—of landed endowments and money—ritual and priesthood, legitimating the authority of the ruler or kingship (Appadurai, 1981; Hietzman, 1997). Whenever a new dynasty supplanted the earlier, it either participated in the legitimating process by creating bigger edifices, or by replacing the existing instruments (temples, icons) by new, for example, Vaiṣṇava with Śaiva or vice-versa. Or, if we conceptualise the supplanting of legitimating instruments and dynasties beyond cultural boundaries, the relationship, however, does not cease, as the instruments would be a mosque/temple and the dynasty could be, for a want of convenient example, the Mughals. Mostly, in such a scenario, the process involves the delegitimation of the preceding authority and then, the creation of fresh legitimating instruments for the succeeding authority (Eaton, 2000; Stein, 1960, 1978).

The interaction between the secular and temporal is limited in time and space; the instruments of legitimation, of authority and power, are the sign-posts of continuity, mostly influenced by the theory of transaction and exchange. This is where the documents of Chambā are significant—those published earlier and the ones that are provided in this selection. They deal with one dynasty only, over a millennium, within a fixed geographical space. Yet, the legitimating symbols (of religion, sects, cults) keep on changing, given the social and cultural context of the sub-continental polity, and are influenced by the transformations taking place in the hegemonic neighbouring territories. The vital question is: can two such symbols co-exist, the earlier dominant with the now dominant? What is the domain of a symbol outside the boundary of its locale—the temple complex? Does the transvaluation of human and divine help in understanding the plural or diverse—the hallmark of the South Asian 'social'?

Let us simplify the three most discussed concepts, the way they have been used in introducing these documents. 'Power' refers to the ability to achieve certain goals, irrespective of the means. 'Authority' refers to the legitimacy, justification and the right to exercise power. 'Legitimation' is the process whereby an act, process, or ideology is attached to the tradition—the norms and values within the given society. It is a process of building acceptance and normative within the given social space. Therefore, the legitimate power would be the ability to influence through authority, the accepted right to exercise control over people in subordinate position.

This is where the set of documents published in this study becomes significant. They differentiate the notion of authority on two counts. One is legitimation: that springs from the dominant cultural symbols maintained by the tradition or arrogated by the ruler. But significantly, these may not be the dominant symbols of the people. This is where we should think about the mechanism through which the consent-to-rule is created. If legitimation is based on the dominant symbol, the consent-to-rule is based on the multiplicity of symbols, co-existing and carrying the cultural boundaries to the outposts, binding them with the cultural notions of state and kingship. It helps in building the instrument of legitimacy, but in itself does not constitute that instrument. Moreover, in a politically fluid situation, as Chambā was placed during the Mughal and later colonial rule—largely autonomous state, but subordinated—the concept of building consent-to-rule becomes a reality. Legitimation is derived through the dominant symbols/instruments, borrowing from or by associating with the sub-continental polity, which validates the authority of the Rājā. This authority, however, needs the approval of the local society, for which it is critical to build consent-to-rule. The notional rule is sustained through the manipulation of these disparate symbols, which are subservient to the dominant symbol. The authority is defined through the spiritual realm, whereby kingship is only the custodian of the realm. Such a distinction between the 'divine' and 'temporal' authority is sharpened when the secular realm is controlled by an 'alien' hegemonic power, e.g., the post sixteenth century Kullu state ruling in the name of Raghunāthjī and Chambā rulers in the name of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.

Since culture is the locus of our analysis, it becomes imperative to arrive at a minimum definition because of the "multiplicity of its referents and the studied vagueness." The culture concept has been used,

following Geertz, as "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life." The symbols, in turn, are defined as "tangible formulations of notions, abstractions from experience fixed in perceptible forms, concrete embodiments of ideas, attitudes, judgements, longings, or beliefs." When we use religious 'symbols' to understand cultural patterns, i.e., "systems or complexes of symbols," they are used both as "models of" and "for" to "synthesise a people's ethos" and "their world view." Such a synthesis confers both meaning (i.e., an "objective conceptual form") and "apprehension of reality" (i.e., organisation of cognitive and physical relationship) to religious symbols or cultural patterns. They have, thus, an 'inter-transposability', as they pronounce conceptual form to the social reality both by "shaping themselves to it and by shaping it to themselves" (Geertz, 1973). It is in this dual aspect of cultural pattern, both as the shaper and the shaped, that 'authority'—the state or kingship—is located in this book.

The study is divided into four chapters, apart from a brief 'introduction'; the fourth being the presentation of documents, followed by an Epilogue and an Appendix. The first three chapters provide a context to the documents. The contextuality is in terms of earlier published documents, therefore exploring continuing issues concerning the state, its instruments, the social and the cultural milieu, and thereafter, to understand the change or discontinuities over a period of time. The first chapter explores this relationship between the state and its constituents and shows how disparate elements were integrated. Chapter two furthers the argument into another sphere, as to the need to build upon the popular symbols as necessary legitimating symbols. This brings sharply to the forefront the question of the religion of state against/along with the belief of people, and how both were provided space so as to harmonise the authority in the time of distress, rather than to tear it apart. This is critical to understand the mechanism of building consent-to-rule, as the symbols through which the state seeks legitimation are entirely different, even opposed, than the symbols through which people express. The assumption is that there is no dichotomy between the secular and the spiritual, whereby, both inter-penetrate and sustain each other.

Chapter three explains the broad 'terms' used in these documents. As the documents presented belong to a time in continuum to the

preceding period, they use similar socio-cultural concepts that require explanation. This chapter, therefore, tries to understand the development of script in which these documents are written; the terms used for land measure, weight or volume; terminology used for local cess and revenue; and type of festivals celebrated in Chambā, constantly alluded to in these documents. It also points out how things are different for a small shrine, like that of Charpaṭ, and the large shrine like Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.

The documents are significant on many counts. Chronologically, they take over from where the earlier published documents left off. During the period of these documents (post 1700), Chambā lost its independence and was for a larger part a tributary state that maintained its cultural autonomy. These documents thus navigate the 'mentalities' during the time of subjugation of Chambā and the political transition during the colonial intervention. Second, all major studies on temples and the state have been carried out in south India, with few exceptions in eastern India (Puri and Bengal/Assam). The documents here provide some interesting insights into the temple-state relationship in the north India. Moreover, while there is plethora of studies on major temples in India, there is hardly any on small shrines, either empirical or theoretical, which co-existed with these larger shrines. This study provides a vital insight into the functioning of these small shrines and argues how these centres were vital for creating consent-to-rule, a concept that has been little used. Lastly, these documents not only belong to a small shrine, but to a small state as well. How these small states, with their limited resources, took care of many popular small shrines, along with the larger shrines, is the question sought to be answered through these documents. These documents, nevertheless, look forward to varied reading, placed in the wider context of History and knowledge building about past. The introduction to these documents is only a reading, among many others; merely a perspective, among others! The introduction is only a context, a 'thick-description'—of taxonomies, genealogies, localities—through which these documents may be intelligibly understood.

Finally, we pause to thank all those who helped in seeing this project through. Foremost, I am indebted to the late Jogī Baijnāth and the present Mahant, Somnāth, for providing me access to about 110 documents, fifty-four of which are published in this collection. I am grateful to Kamal Prashad for helping me with Ṭākarī transcription and to the late Durga Singh (Thāṇedār), for helping me with the legal Urdu

documents. Quānūngo Haider Ali helped me with revenue papers and provided access to the 'land-settlement' archive. His friendship with the Mahant enabled access to the legal documents translated in this selection. The priests of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa graciously opened their archives, even though they appreciated little that I was working on Charpaṭnāth while Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa is the foremost of the Chambā shrines. The Girī aśrama at Brahmaur was welcoming and I spent some happy time at the local library in the Chaurasī temple complex.

I am beholden to the United States Education Foundation in India and the US Department of State for providing me the Fulbright Senior Research Fellowship, 2007. This afforded me time to think and write, while being away from teaching. Thanks to my colleagues at Panjab University, Chandigarh, for facilitating 'leave-of-absence' for this period. I am also grateful to Sanjay Subrahmanyam for associating me with the Centre for India and South Asia at UCLA. I am particularly grateful for the library facilities at UCLA and Berkeley; and to those wonderful interlibrary loans that were arranged by the UNF, Jacksonville, Florida, while I was teaching there in 2006. I am also grateful to the CIES, New York, and the Fulbright Enrichment Programme, UCLA, for supporting me in numerous ways. Thank you all! Back home, I reflect with satisfaction the days spent at the library of Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla; the 'rare-books/manuscripts section' of the Panjab University Library; Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Delhi; the State Museum at Simla; Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba; Vishveshvaranand Indological Institute at Hoshiarpur; Lal Chand Indology Library at DAV College, Chandigarh; and the Himachal State Archives at Simla.

Thanks are due to *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* (Sage publications) for allowing me to reprint the first and a part of the fourth chapter (section V), which were earlier published by them in 2004 (41, 4) and 2006 (43, 4).

My debt of gratitude extends itself to a large number of people. Foremost among them are Professors B. N. Goswamy and Karuna Goswamy. I gratefully acknowledge their academic inputs and affection—that epitomises the Indian tradition of Guruship. The fact that their own work on this region is exhaustive and well known has been a great source of both strength and motivation. I am particularly beholden to Alex McKay for reading the 'manuscript' more than once and offering incisive comments. His own interest in Tibet, as well as his understanding and insights into the processes that influence the state and religion, was extremely useful. Arjan van Dixhoorn was kind enough to go through

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Chandigarh, Mahesh Sharma
December 2008



'Mt. Kailasa' was photographed in 2007 by Gabriella and Oliver.
Courtesy: Summit Adventures, Dharmsala.

INTRODUCTION

It was way back in 1992 that I first got hold of these documents. I vividly remember that it was a cold day and I was climbing up the cobbled path looking for the non-descript portal of Charpaṭnāth, near the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa in Chambā. I was amazed to see the small courtyard that housed the shrine of the famed Siddha, who allegedly played a prominent role in the early state formation of Chambā. This did not seem like the shrine belonging to the same historical person, haloed in both the early Tibetan and Nāth Siddha literature as Charpaṭī or Charpaṭnāth. It seemed like a private shrine that had nothing to do with the Chambā royal family, or that it was ever patronised by it.

I met Baijnāth, the Mahant (the chief functionary) of the shrine, since deceased. Perhaps, he had seen good days in early life, but there was nothing in his appearance or his house to confirm this. I was disappointed, to say the least, for I was expecting a charismatic personality as the head of the foremost shrine that played a vital role in early Chambā. Yet, I struck a cord with him and started talking about Chambā, Charpaṭ and the legacy. Sitting on the cold veranda of that small shrine, I had no or little expectations. The old man, however, warmed up in a while and had tales to tell about the fortune of the shrine, about patronage once extended, and finally, how Charpaṭ/i/nāth helped King Sāhilla Varman, in the tenth century CE, to establish a new capital called Chambā. I was not much interested in all this, as I had heard and read enough of this, yet I could not muster courage to stop him recounting the past he obviously treasured, a sort of comfort in the days of penury. That is, till he went inside his house and came out with a bag full of papers! I realized soon enough that this was something wonderful, a treasure trove, a peep into the past: title deeds, details of fairs, rituals and pilgrimage; of death and litigation; notices and legal papers.

He must have seen scepticism on my face, I guess. He knew that I was disappointed. Perhaps, he intuited why I was there. I was not even aware that the shrine possessed any documentary evidence. No one had ever written about it, or even mentioned about it. And there I was, seeing these documents in the script that I had little know how of. Yet, I had the sense of making a copy of these 'foreign' looking documents.

Getting the copies of these documents is also a kind of 'technological' story, considering how fast the technology is changing. The Mahant was suspicious that I might run-off with these documents, so he accompanied me to the shop that made photo-copies. There was only one machine in the whole town at that time. A huge machine that had a photographic lens! First, a photograph of the document was taken on a chromatic plate. It was then put into a compartment with a small ink-barrel, containing black granules of ink. A white paper was then attached to the plate, physically pressed into it so that it touched the surface at all points, or most points. After fifteen minutes the paper was taken off from the plate, excess ink removed physically. It took me two days to get a copy each of the 110 documents, not to count the expense and patience. I request the same patience from you. Please, do remember the story of how a copy was made when you see these documents. One of the challenges of epigraphy is to comprehend the misconstrued words, which are eroded over time rather than scribal mistake, occasionally both. You will not miss that in these documents as well. You will find excess ink on the documents (which were digitalized at a much later date) produced in this selection, sometimes straining the eyes, and wrenching the head at most times.

These documents, a representative sample of which I present to the academic community for wider scrutiny, have been with me all this while, waiting to be transliterated and translated; waiting to travel down that cobbled path again, which leads to the portal of Charpaṭnāth in the Charpaṭī *mohallā*, (vicinage of Chambā), a few meters away from the famous temple-complex of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa!

The first charter, which we know of, was a copper plate grant,[1] now framed and hanging on one of the walls of the portal of Charpaṭ (see figure 4.1). All other documents are written on the Siālkoṭī paper (thick

[1] Most of the grants known to us from Chambā are copper plate grants. One reason was that copper was mined in Chambā, so both forging of copper and writing on it was fairly advanced in Chambā. The other reason is the religious significance attached to copper, which may have further added to its symbolic value, as most of these were sacred in nature and were not secular grants.

Artisans started casting in copper relatively early in India. This, Nayanjot Lahiri argues, has nothing to do with technology, but "fits in with what we know about the ritual importance of pure copper in ancient Indian texts;" "Indian Metal and Metal-Related Artefacts as Cultural Signifiers: An Ethnographic Perspective," *World Archaeology*, 27 (1), 1997, p. 117. For epigraphic purposes, however, religious significance was critical, but was not the dominant aspect, as is reflected in the shift to paper, once that medium became accepted and popular, even though the early writings are on birch

hand made paper from Sialkot, now in Pakistan). The scribe used the bamboo-pen (*qalam*), writing in black ink, mostly in Ṭākarī (the script peculiar to the western-Himalayas), but occasionally in Urdu as well. Except for the legal papers, which bear the stamp of Chambā state, the documents are testified by the ruler—signed in Ṭākarī and later in English, using a blue/black water-ink, inscribed with a fine nib fountain-pen/holder. The documents are written in free hand, particularly the accounts, in a flow without paying much attention to the vowels, rendering it difficult to read. It is because of this that the script is also known as *Sīdha-mātṛkā* (lit. simple vowel sounds), where one has to guess the sounds of vowels: just like the dubious powers of the Siddhas. That the script is used for the documents of the Siddha Jogīs is incidental, though one is aware of the relationship between some of the tantric ritual and language, used by these Jogīs, along with other ritualists.

Then, there are account-sheets which are drawn on long-sheets of hand made paper, bound together as an account-book with a ubiquitous red coloured cloth, tied by a white string. There are loose account sheets as well, which bear the stamp of time: destroyed over the period by termites, or the damp paper has become so brittle that it falls off on handling; demonstrating the care that has been taken of these small peep-holes into the past, which are of little obvious use to the trustees and the managers of the temple.

The good thing is that invariably all the documents are dated, in the Vakramī Samvat, Śaka era and mostly in the local or Śastra era.[2] So, it is not at all difficult to put them in a chronological sequence. Apart from the documents being texts that articulate and represent different situations and perspectives, they are also the sites that embrace multiple 'voices'. All these 'voices' are not so explicit, but are rather subtle. They are indicative of the process by which these documents were fashioned. All the documents, of course, contain the dominant voice of the person on whose behalf the document was fashioned and towards whom it was directed. The person responsible for executing the provisions made therein was also specifically mentioned. These are

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paper. Yet, copper has significance, as not only the word is considered sacred, so is the medium, in this case copper.

[2] The Vikramī Samvat is ahead of Gregorian calendar by 57 years, while Śaka era is 78 years behind. So, it is easy to convert and arrive at contemporary Gregorian dates by either adding 78 or subtracting 57 from the years mentioned, as the case might be. The Śastra or lokakāla or the local era may be arrived at by adding 24 to the last digits. F. Kielhorn, "A Note on Saptriśī Era," *The Indian Antiquary*, XX, 1891.

the visible voices that can be socially located. But equally critical are the subtle voices. For instance, some of the documents also mention the name of the 'writer', while the document is authenticated by the ruler himself. In a way, there is this subtle 'voice' of the 'writer' between the donor and the donee: the ruler and the ruled. He was asked to write directly by the ruler or through the agency of some intermediary. This did not always motivate his creative potential. A particular formula was, therefore, repeated, with some emendations or changing the particulars. This stylised way, however, gave rise to different genres of document making and ensured textual continuity over time. The 'particular' was, therefore, fitted into the 'general', depending upon the type of genre. The *praśastī*-eulogy, for instance, were structured differently than the land-charters, though all land-charters were generally similar. How so ever impassive this 'voice' may seem, it could yet be critical, adding a word here and a sentence there. Mostly, the writer and the 'scribe' were the same person, but there are documents in which the 'scribe' is different from the 'writer'. The former wrote or dictated, while the 'scribe' simply copied. Carefully studying the hand in which these documents are written, there are few 'scribes' doing the bulk of the job. The same mistakes are repeated; the writing seems familiar, if sometimes laboured. We shall, nevertheless, know little about this 'voice'. The calligrapher is, though seldom, tempted to reveal his identity as well. Thus, while the name of the 'writer' is mostly mentioned in the last line of the document, the calligrapher scribbled his name, as unobtrusively as possible, on the top or on the reverse side of the document; just like the hill painter, who devised ways to make his presence felt, even if rarely, in his own work. On rare occasions, both the names, of the writer and scribe, are written in the 'signature line': "written by Purshotam Mehta and scribed by Parasram." One gets a feeling that the scribe was overwhelmed by the whole process, the structure of the document, the writer, and generally, the number of people involved in its preparation.[3] Sometimes,

[3] Compare this to the making of the Cola copper-plate grants: "A donation of land, even if we begin just with the king's word, was a complex procedure that involved a variety of socio-political agents. As the king dictated, the order was transcribed onto palm leaf, scrutinized, and checked for form by a series of officials whose title involved the word "palm leaf." It then took on the status of "edited" or "refined," a status that enabled the grant to be entered into the permanent record books and/or sent in the form of a communication called an "order" to the relevant local authorities. The royal order, called in Tamil the "auspicious face" or "auspicious mouth" of the king, was received at the locality as if it were the king himself. The "men of the district" honored

another agency was involved: the metal-caster (there are only couple of such examples in this collection, but Chambā has a large number of copper-plate inscriptions that are referred to in the first chapter). He moulded and forged the documents—though with little literary input. Yet, his inability to comprehend letters makes it difficult to read; he did not always care for the vowels; he misconstrued the letters, as it were. But then there was little to choose from as craft traditions were handed down from generation to generation and art was a hereditary vocation. In most cases, the names of the fathers of artisans are mentioned, which suggests that the son generally followed the trade of his father.[4] Notwithstanding the invisibility of women in the whole process, the making of a document involved a variety of socio-political agents, which reflects the political process. One can visualise the intensity of emotions that an 'illiterate' metal-forger, holding the copper-plate one last time in his hands before submitting it to the concerned authority, had to go through. Even though he did not comprehend the words that he cast into metal, he was aware of the significance. The making of a document must have been an empowering experience!

One becomes aware of these multiple 'voices' as one ploughs into the collection. Even when the texts are mindlessly replicated, one is still left wondering about the hand that made the paper; the source and the consistency of the ink used; or, the deft hand that made the fate-changing strokes. The scribe using a thick nibbed bamboo pen would make a different impression than the one using a thin nibbed pen. One is left wondering more about the writer who inscribed only few lines in a page than the one who crowded so many words in it that the page does not seem to breathe. There are always insights to be gained: right from the material used to the attitude of the person involved. All of these are there to discern, waiting patiently to be illuminated.

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it by placing the order on their heads and then, mounting it on a female elephant, circumambulated the village to be donated. The plates could only be inscribed after these acts were performed." Daud Ali, "Royal Eulogy as History: Rethinking Copper-plate Inscriptions in Cola India," In Ronald B. Inden, Jonathan S. Walters and Daud Ali (ed.), *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia*, New York, 2000, p. 174.

[4] L. S. Thakur, "Artisans in Himachal Pradesh circa CE 700–1400: A Study Based on Epigraphics," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 23 (3), 1986, p. 309. "Epigraphic records indicate that the institution of the family played an important role in the transmission of these skills from father to son."

The assortment of documents, coming from a small shrine, is amazing. So is their significance. Each of these documents articulate and represent the world that fashioned it. For instance, the grant which was issued by the ruler is an altogether different representation than the petition made by humble 'subjects'. Not only the objective is different in each case, so is the context. Albeit, each document articulates its own context; it is an agent of its own history. For instance, the land-grant charter contextualises the type and extent of patronage; it is about 'privileges' and 'obligations'. Yet, at the same time this charter obliquely delineates (for it is never stated in such clear terms) the process of cultural penetration into the peripheral area, where the grant was made. It never says that the donee is up-rooted from his immediate social setting and is rehabilitated in an altogether different 'society'. Why would the donee agree to this shift is in itself worth probing. To become an agent of change was possibly a huge motivation.

On the other hand, there are petitions, which is an altogether different genre. It is interesting to observe how well the small distinctions in the typology of documents were understood. The land-grant charter is characterised by the authority of the state, which at times was resisted by the subjects and, therefore, there are occasions where the authority was confronted. The contest is reflected in multiple grants, which were made by multiple authorities, each constructing its own moral-world. The petition, as opposed to this, is an interactive encounter between the 'identity' and authority. "The substance of the appeal or claim indicates the relationship between identity and authority that is being assumed."[5] Inherent in the petition is the recognition of authority; and the moral world that legitimises it. Petitions, thus, articulate the identity and status of the petitioner and that of authority in a shared moral order. Ordinarily, petitioners enlarged the vision of morality in order to justify their specific claims. Frequently, petitioners sought inclusion of themselves or marginal others in the existing moral worlds. But, petitions can also be the opportunity for the presentation of a "transcendent moral order, in which identities and authorities shift into new relations and take on new forms."[6] Consider this caustic petition made by the starving

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[5] Ravi de Costa, "Identity, Authority, and the Moral Worlds of Indigenous Petitions," *Comparative Study of Society and History*, 2006, p. 670.

[6] Ibid. p. 670. Compare this to how the weavers used 'petitions' and 'representations' to express their grievance to the colonial administration, Potukuchi Swarnalatha,

painter (Shiba, by name) to his patron, Rājā Sansar Chand (1775–1823) of Kāngrā in c. 1812.[7]

> Further, O Mahārājā, this is my humble submission, that you had said (to me): "Do not go back to your home; if you do, I will punish you. Stay you now by my side in future." I believe, O Mahārājā, that it was truth indeed that you spoke for, first, am I without food; I am, in fact, dying. Secondly, truly did you show that you granted me employment by the side of (under the care of) Gauḍhu. But the reality of that 'employment' is that the Accountant Sardāru does not give me anything out of that. He offers me taunts instead; he does not take (enrol?) your humble servant.
>
> You had said that I should bring my family over. It is well that I did not bring it, for just as your humble servant here is fallen on bad days and is without food, so would they (the family) have suffered. Your servant has been living on debts (of several rupees) that he has incurred here. Now, however, nobody gives (a loan) any more.
>
> The thing that matters is one's own self (lit., "belly"). All rights or wrongs that anyone does, he does for his own self, and not without a cause. Do be kind, O Maharaja, and allow your humble servant now to depart. He is helpless for here he goes without food. And forgive, please, the sins and faults of this humble servant.

In contradistinction to the 'moral world' of petitions, the 'notice' is an expression of intention; an announcement, information, notification or warning. It assumes an authority that is legitimated by the juridical procedure, and is directed towards the 'agent', whose identity is, therefore, negated and becomes suspect. While the 'notice' assumes the ethical position of 'self-righteous' and appeals to the moral world, the one to whom the notice is served is excluded from this 'moral' equation. There are two 'moral worlds' and both of them are opposed to each other.

I did not think of all these questions when I first got hold of these documents. I only thought of them as evidence through which the history of the western-Himalayan kingdom of Chambā could be further written. There are a range of issues involving these documents—beginning with the production and dissemination of information, to the questions of authorship and its audience, the procedure and people occupied in producing a document, of material used and the

"Revolt, Testimony, Petition: Artisanal Protests in Colonial Andhra," *International Review of Social History*, 46, Supplement 9, 2001, pp. 107–129.

[7] B. N. Goswamy, "A Painter's Letter to his Royal Patron: An Old Ṭākrī Document," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 86, 2, 1966, pp. 212–13.

power relations involved. By recognising these issues one realised how discursive, in fact, these documents are. Each document illuminates, in its own complex history, the social reality of the period. Each one of them is an ethnographic diary that contains a singular world-view, waiting to catch our attention.

In order to locate these documents in the pervasive political framework—which they reflect while also being the product of—let us recount, in passing, the political history of Chambā.[8] Chambā is one of those rare states that were ruled by single dynasty. The Meru-Moṣūṇa dynasty, as the royal lineage is popularly known, ruled from its inception in the seventh century to April 15, 1948, when Chambā was merged with the Indian Union. While there were times when it lost its sovereignty and became a tributary state, yet it always retained its territorial integrity and cultural autonomy. This is reflected in an enormous number of epigraphs recovered from Chambā—stone inscriptions and copper-plate charters—140 of which have already been published and another 54 are being presented in this selection. Going through the dates when these epigraphs were issued, one may generalise that such productivity was the result of a continuous political stability. Whenever there was a political hiatus, no epigraphs were issued; or if issued, it was a rare occasion. Political stability is also reflected in the number of temples built by the state. The building activity is all the more astounding when we consider the smallness of economy, which depended upon forest products, shepherding and subsistence agriculture.

The foundation of the early state in Brahmapurā (Brahmaur) is attributed to Marū, towards the middle of the 7th century CE. He was an adventurer who carved a "kingdom" in the Himalayas for his son, himself abdicating power and instead practicing yoga. Mythically, the lineage was associated to the solar Ikṣavākus, and therefore Rāma (the protagonist of one of the two epics, *Rāmāyaṇa*; later worshipped as 'hero-god'). The genealogy claims an external descent for the dynasty which, in turn, means that they were the harbingers of 'civilisation'—expressed in the norms of caste and brahmanism. The claim still reverberates and impacts the western Himalayan society, as all the dominant communities express themselves as caste groups claiming

[8] We shall base the political account on the *Vamśāvalī*-genealogy of the royal family that was compiled in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is also because we shall comment on this 'source' in the subsequent chapters.

'foreign' descent from the Gangetic plains. The fascination with the 'plain areas'—signifying agrarian resources and 'religious purity'—was fairly early on; the 'native' and therefore the hills being tantamount to 'backward', difficult and resources-less. The most well known of the early rulers was Meru, who expanded the kingdom at the cost of local feudatories (Rāṇās) and built temples to commemorate his victories towards the end/beginning of the 7th–8th century. It seems that the territory was occupied in the 8th century by the *kīras*, who were associated with the Tibetan kingdom (there is, however, a general consensus that they came much later, perhaps in the 11–12th). This sets the stage for Moṣūṇa Varman, who was raised in an alien country, but grew strong enough to expel the 'occupiers' and the kingdom was never subjugated again. The grateful dynasty traces its immediate lineage from Moṣūṇa. The genealogy goes on to accord mythical (we may say, totemic) traits to Moṣūṇa who was so named, which means a 'rat', because his mother is said to have given birth to him while fleeing from the vanquished Chambā and left him in a cave. He was, indeed, found safe, protected by rats.

The most significant political event after this was the shifting of capital to Chambā in the middle of the 10th century, where a new township, Caṃpakapurī, was built by the king named Sāhilla Varman. The town was named after the princess, Champāvati. Charpaṭnāth, the renowned Siddha of the Vajrayana and Śaiva Nāth tradition, visited Brahmapurā at this time and was instrumental in building the new township. He was responsible for the spiritual growth of the town, where new temples were built. The marble-stone for the image of the foremost temple, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, was imported from the Vindhyās, the mountain range in central-India.

There is a revealing legend associated with the construction of the township, which underscores the early medieval ethos and belief. The king, Sāhilla Varman, could not, however hard he tried, provide a good water supply to the town from the near by stream. He was advised to 'sacrifice' his queen Nenna Devī (popularly called Sūhī, literally, 'the one who produces'), later deified as goddess Satī.[9] The legend has that

[9] The inscription refers to the wife of Sāhilla Varman and the mother of the heir, Yugākāra Varman, as Nenna, the only place where the queen is named in the Chambā records. The sacrifice, however, is not mentioned anywhere. "Bhramaur Copper Plate Insp. of Yugakara Varman," J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chambā State*, Part I, Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 36 (hereafter, *Antiquities* I), no. 14, 159–64.

immediately after her live-burial, "the water began to flow and has ever since flowed abundantly."[10] In her memory a small shrine was built and a fair organised every year, which is attended only by women and children, to commemorate her sacrifice. The perpetrators of the crime (men) are excluded!

Even today in the rainy season the legend is sung by the Doms and local bards, based on the *Rāga* Malahāra—a musical note of the rainy season.[11] One such song is translated as:[12]

> O brother clouds, rain your fill,
> In the country of the queen of Chambā.
> How shall I rain, the sky
> Is full of twinkling stars.

After the sacrifice was made, it goes like this:

> From where came these black clouds,
> From where, the rain, O clouds!
> From the heat of heart
> Were black clouds formed.
> Tears ushering from two eyes
> Converted into rain.

Another legend portrays the cruel rule of Rāṇās and Ṭhākurs. The legend bemoans the forceful sacrifice of a Gaddī woman (a community of the western-Himalayan shepherds), by the Rāṇā or the chieftain of Chanail in Brahmaur, to ensure water supply to his principality.

> We build a new water stream,
> Your good days end;
> We build a new water stream
> The Rāṇā wants you to dance.
> All have the right to live,
> All have!
>   "Do not bury my feet in stones
>   From this way my brothers come,
>   They shall touch my feet…"

[10] J. Ph. Vogel and J. Hutchison, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, p. 284.

[11] The Doms, (Ḍumaṇās) were low caste people who worked as basket-makers. They worked as musicians in marriages and sang popular legends during the summer-rainy season every year, collecting fixed dues in kind from each household falling in their territorial jurisdiction. D. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, Lahore, 1916, pp. 310–11.

[12] Mahesh Sharma, *The Realm of Faith: Subversion, Appropriation and Dominance in the Western Himalaya*, Shimla, 2001, pp. 46–47.

"Do not bury my mouth, my tongue;
I recount my sorrows and joys
My husband, who comes this way…."

The Rāṇās were the territorial chieftains, who were attached to the soil and controlled the loyalty of their people, perhaps belonging to the same clan. Their allegiance was crucial for the Chambā rulers to expand and consolidate their kingdom. The Rājā, however, had to manipulate their loyalty, for they loved their freedom and were mostly rebellious. There is an interesting tale of one such rebel, the control over whose territory was crucial for the expansion of the kingdom. Let us recount it in the words of French, who published it in 1931:[13]

> A Rāṇā was constantly in rebellion, but whenever offered safe passage to Chambā township to meet the Rājā, he was all loyalty and submission. The courtiers explained to the ruler: "it is his native soil which makes him rebellious. When he comes to Chambā, he is on alien earth, and so he is patient and submissive." The Rājā gave orders that some men were to be sent secretly to bring some earth form the Rāṇā's land. Having done this the rebellious Rāṇā was summoned to the court. While he was standing outside the court he was submissive, but the Rājā called him in till his feet touched his own earth. At once he broke into fierce defiance and was cut down. There is a couplet about him

Rihila Rāṇā Bahila Rāṇī	Bahila and Rihila, queen and king,
Bannu Koṭ Saroḷ Pāṇī	Lived in Bannu fort, drank from Sarol spring,
Badram janjan khāṇī	And Badram (Badagram) gave them feasts.

The post 10th century CE Chambā faced other north Indian states on equal terms, particularly Kashmir, with which it established matrimonial ties. The growing influence meant frequent wars, particularly with Trigarta-Nagarkoṭ or Kāngrā, with Makarsā or Kullu, and Manḍī, its easterly neighbours; with Durgara or Jammu, Bhadrāvakāśa or Bhadravah, and later with Baśolī and Vallapurā or Balaur, its westerly neighbours (see Map 1). The wars were fought either to control irrigated agricultural land, or to gain access to strategic mountain passes and valleys for trade. Chambā was strategically located and could monitor trade with Central Asia, Kashmir and with Śivālik hills. By controlling

[13] J. C. French, *Himalayan Art*, (intro by Laurence Binyon), 1931, Delhi, 1983 (reprint), pp. 48–9.

Caturāha, or Churah, and Pāngaṭī, or Pāngī areas by the middle of the 13th century, Chambā could control the summer trade from Lahul, Kaṣṭavar, or Kishtwar, and Zaṅskar; and the trade route to Durgara, Bhadravah and Baśolī by controlling Pandāri pass. It traded with Banaghāl by controlling Jālsu pass, thus gaining access to Kīragrāma or Baijnāth; with Lahul and the traders from Spitī through Kugtī pass; it traded with Trigarta by securing the mountain pass of Baleṇī and on Kakoṭ range. Along with the trade and traders came cultural influences, the most notable being Kashmir based religious ideologies, the Nāth Siddha and other Śaivite ideologues, and finally, Vaiṣṇavism. Jainism, which was prominent by the 10th century in Nagarkoṭ, never really found roots in Chambā. Buddhism, in its first phase, which was prominent in Trigarta all through the Kuṣāṇa period, and in Kashmir until about 5th century, was not really popular in Chambā. However, people like Charpaṭī became associated with Chambā; and there are indications of Kīra occupation, which would suggest that Vajrayāṇa Buddhism found some footing, even if tenuous, in Chambā. This form of Buddhism was popular in Lahul and Chambā had fluid borders with Lahul, mostly in occupation of the area of Udaipur, where there was the shrine of Avalokiteśvara or Trilokanāth.[14]

The ambition of the Mughals to control the western Himalayan states came as a serious threat to the independence of the Chambā rulers. During the reign of Jahāngīr, Jagat Singh Paṭhāṇiyā, the Rājā of Nūrpur, deposed the Chambā ruler in 1623. Pṛthvī Singh, the next ruler, was raised in Manḍī and was installed by Shah Jahān as the Mughal mansabdār (chieftain) in 1641. The Mughal control over Chambā was, however, illusory. But it could not be ignored as it had strong presence in the neighbourhood: Nagarkoṭ, Mankoṭ and Kashmīr. Chambā was also lucky to escape, while the lower hill-states (the Panjāb hill-states) like Kāngrā, Nūrpur, Bilāspur and Jammu, were dominated by, at various periods, the intermittent rule of Duranis in the 1750s, followed by Sikhs and the Gurkhās in the early 1800s. The impact of the Sikhs in Chambā was at times hegemonic, but it was more cultural.

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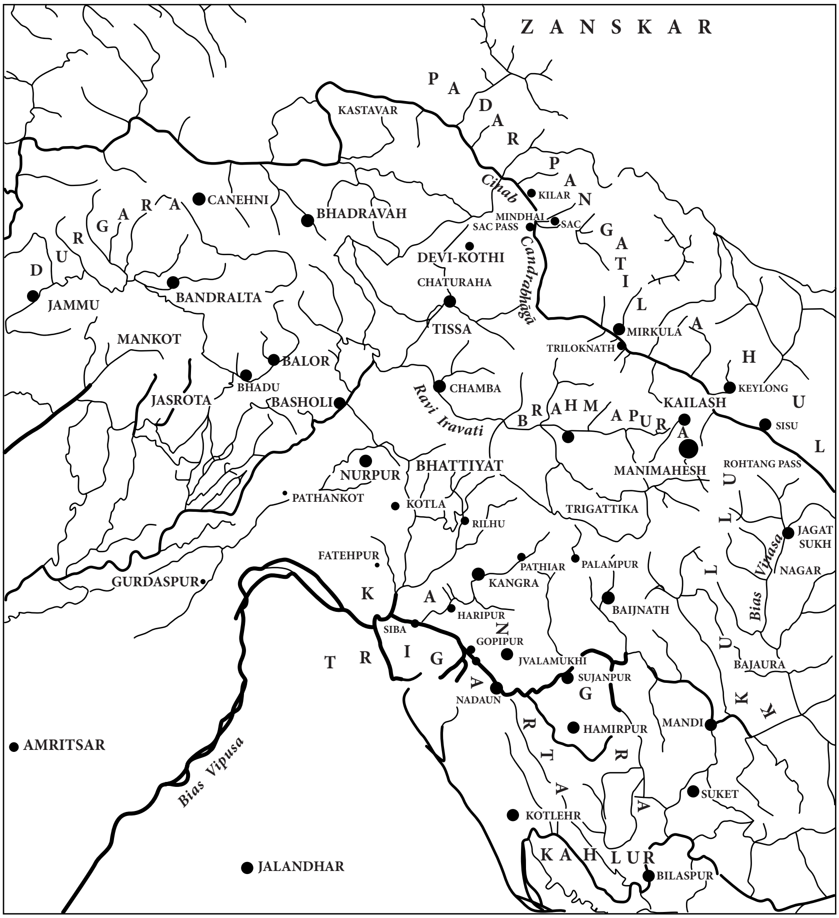
[14] V. C. Ohri, "Sculpture of Chambā: A Brief Survey," In *A Western Himalayan Kingdom*, pp. 160–70; J. Ph. Vogel, "Triloknath," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 70, 1, 1902, pp. 35–41.

All this while, the British colonial 'juggernaut' was gobbling up new territories. While granting 'independence' to Chambā as one of the 'princely states' the colonial government fixed Rs. 12,000 as annual tribute in 1848. The tribute was reduced over time in lieu of certain "territorial advancement" to establish, for example, a sanatorium for Europeans in Dalhousie; to transfer certain plateaux: Katalagh, Terah, Bakrota and Bhangor; for setting up a convalescent depot for European troops at Balun; setting up the Bakloh cantonment area to station the Gurkhā regiment. A European Superintendent was appointed to assist the Rājā and reorganise the administrative apparatus in 1862. The Imperial Forest Department was set up in 1868, for which a 99 years lease was negotiated in 1864 at the rate of Rs. 22,000 per annum. Other colonial institutions were also introduced: public-works-department was set up; a post office opened in 1863; and the education department took up the task of setting 'primary-schools' and the 'high-school' in Chambā town with emphasis on English language; the first modern hospital was set up in 1866. The people and the Rājā were taught the language of the British in schools and by private tutors. The British officials taught the Rājā and also managed the state for him, so that the 'mighty ruler' was not distracted from learning. They also rewarded the 'royals' for their diligence, awarding them such title like KCSI (the Knight Star of India!). Chambā, indeed, had come a long way forward.

The British presence in the hills brought about a complete attitudinal change. Known as '*Lāṭ Sāhib*' (*Lāṭ* is the vernacular for 'Lord' and *Sāhib*, an honorific), they were feared as 'rulers', more so as "magicians" for whom even the 'iron' worked—an oblique reference to the building of railroads in the Kāngrā valley. The Gaddī-shepherd couplet says:

Dhan ho angrezāṇ dī māū	The great be the mothers of English
Lohe te bhī canḍa marāū	She can even exhort work out of 'iron'.

On August 15, 1947 the '*Lāṭ Sāhibs*' set out on a long journey on steamships and possibly aeroplanes. They were returning home, away to the war-weary United Kingdom, never to come back as the rulers. Soon after, on April 15, 1948, the Chambā dynastic rule also came to an end. Chambā was merged with the union of newly Independent India.



Map 1 Early Western Himalayan States (Based on Antiquities I)

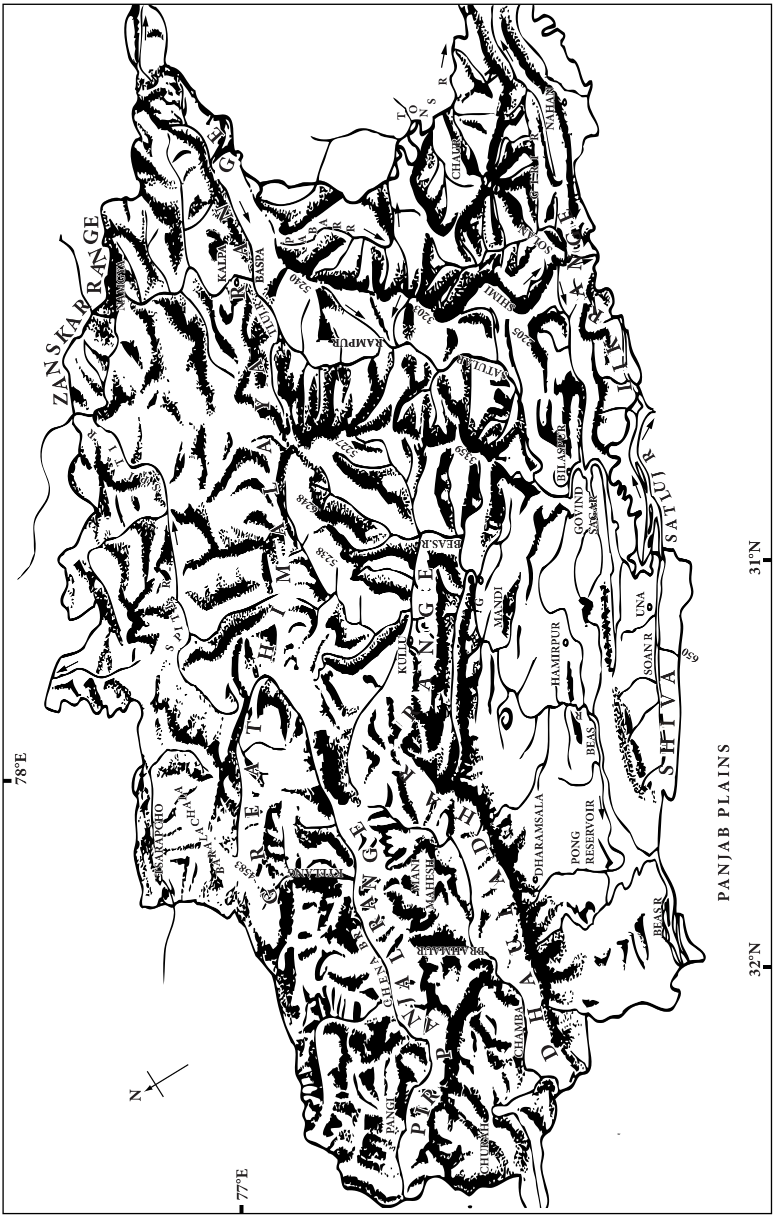
CHAPTER ONE

A WESTERN HIMALAYAN KINGDOM: THE STATE FORMATION AND CULTURAL COMPLEX—700–1650 CE

Chambā, a western-Himalayan district in Himachal Pradesh bordering Jammu and Kashmir in the north-west and Panjāb in south-west (Maps 1 and 1.1), has acquired the centre-stage as it furnishes a rich source material in terms of inscriptions and copper plate grants beginning from the early eighth century CE. Though Cunningham was the first to draw attention towards these epigraphs,[1] Vogel[2] and Chhabra[3] published 140 of these, divided into two chronological phases. Along with epigraphs, the focus has been on the royal genealogy-*vaṁśāvalī*, which was compiled (written) in the first half of the seventeenth century. In a sense, the documents produced in this study add to the source base through which the history of Chambā is constructed. Intricacies involved in contextualising the history of Chambā can be comprehended better if the severity of terrain and ecology (Maps 1.2 & 1.3) are appreciated.[4] Chambā was divided into five administrative units—Bhramaur, Chambā, Churah, Pāngī, and Bhaṭṭiyāt—each corresponding to an autonomous territory, marked by an exclusive valley, flanked by natural boundaries (Map 1.2). The greater Himalayan range surrounded the Chambā territorial state on the north-west, and the outer Himalayas or Dhaulādhāra range from south-east to south-west.

In between ran the Pīr-Pañjāl range from north-west to south-east, cutting the state into a rough half. The average valley table rested on the elevation of 1000–3000 metres, surrounded by peaks higher than 5500 metres. The terrain of the valley was rugged, dotted with hillocks and

[1] Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, 1902–03, pp. 252–64.
[2] J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chambā State*, Part I, Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 36.
[3] B. Ch. Chhabra, *Antiquities of Chambā State*, Part II, Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 72.
[4] For the environmental debate in western Himalayas, Chetan Singh, *Natural Premises: Ecology and Peasant Life in the Western Himalaya 1850–1950*, Delhi, 1998, pp. 6–39.



Map 1.1 Physiography of the Western Himalayas

lesser hill-ranges (see Map 1.3). This not only hampered inter-valley communication, but intra-valley connectivity was also affected during winters. As a result, population clusters were concentrated largely in the closed riverside valleys (compare, Map 1.4), which were the main stay of the local economy. The type of terrain largely determined the nature of local economy. Thus Bhramaur, Pāngī and north Churah were primarily shepherding economies with one summer crop and transhumant population;[5] south Churah and Chambā practised mixed agriculture, with overt dependence on cattle rearing; while Bhaṭṭiyāt was predominantly an agriculture dependant zone. Agriculture was, however, limited to the riverine valleys (Map 1.5). The two major river systems of Rāvī and Chenāb irrigated exclusively the cultivated zones of Bhramaur, Chambā, Churah and Pāngī. The most fertile was the Beās valley, lying between the Śivālik range and Dhaulādhār (Maps 1.2 & 1.3) with an average valley table of 1000 metres, marked by the Bhaṭṭiyāt region.[6]

There are two major strains of historical writings on the early state of Chambā. Goetz, closely followed by Ohri—who were primarily interested in the art and architecture of this area—contends that it was an Audumbara and Kuninda "patrimony" assimilated into the state of Kashmir by Lalitaditya Muktapida and the imperialists of Kanauj.[7] Yet, how Brahmapurā-Chambā dynasty came into existence is little explained. They contend that with the death of Kashmiri ruler Lalitaditya

[5] The Gaddīs in Bhramaur are a classic example of transhumance, in search of alpine pastures in summers and temperate pastures in winters. Goats and sheep were the backbone of their economy and primarily traded for wool, "mutton on hooves" as the colonial government called goats, and *dhoop*-incense and herbs in a limited way. Veena Bhasin, *Gaddīs of Himachal Pradesh: Himalayan Ecology, Transhumance, and Social Organisation*, Delhi, 1987; S. S. Shashi, *The Gaddī Tribe of Himachal Pradesh*, Delhi, 1977; J. H. Newell, *Report on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*, Census of India, 1961, Vol. XX, Part V-B, 1967; also some articles referring to shepherds in general and Gaddīs particularly, like, D. N. Dhir, "Tribes on the North-Western Border of India (West Himalayas)," in K. S. Singh, ed., *The Tribal Situation in India*, Simla, 1972, pp. 130–140; T. S. Negi, "The Tribal Situation in Himachal Pradesh: Some Socio-Economic Considerations," *The Tribal Situation in India;* a migratory account by Christina Noble, *Over the High Passes: A Year in the Himalayas with the Migratory Gaddī Shepherds*, London, 1987; Vasant K. Saberwal, *Pastoral Politics: Shepherds, Bureaucrats, and Conservation in the Western Himalaya*, Delhi, 1999.

[6] *Chambā State Gazetteer,* Part A, Lahore, 1904, pp. 1–16; Veena Bhasin, *Gaddīs of Himachal Pradesh: Himalayan Ecology, Transhumance, and Social Organisation*, pp. 19–24.

[7] Herman Goetz, *Early Wooden Temples of Chambā*, 1955, pp. 1–35; V. C. Ohri, *The Sculptures of the Western Himalayas*, Delhi, 1991.

in 756 CE, Brahmapurā asserted independence, paving the way for the new dynasty of Maru-Moṣūṇa Varman. The other group of scholars, primarily Jha and Sharma (R. S. Sharma only uses the early epigraphs in support of his theory on "Indian Feudalism"), formulated the socio-economic base of the polity and the state of Brahmapurā-Chambā from "the vantage point of feudalism."[8] To Jha, the phenomenon of state formation in Chambā is a "part of the process of the diffusion of brahmanical culture and sanskritic ideas in the region," which lacks a "strong agro-economic base" and with little scope for "agricultural expansion." To him, the land grants "led to stratification in the agrarian society" and taxation sharpened the "cleavages" between the peasantry and the beneficiaries of the land-grants; while the state "thrived without a regular fiscal set up." He corroborates Sharma's hypothesis that the peasantry was "oppressed" by the donees to whom the state "alienated" its revenue from the land grants.[9] The land grants and the state, therefore, stood in inverse relation—where grants were a burden on the limited resources of the state. What is difficult to understand in this analysis is how the state 'thrived' without any fiscal set-up, limited and restricted agriculture base, no established monetary economy, oppressed peasantry and the increasing burden of 'tax free' donees, which further alienated the precious little revenue. Moreover, Jha, like R. S. Sharma, restricts himself chronologically to 1200 CE, thereby using only 16 out of 140 published epigraphs. Perhaps a 'long durée' perspective would significantly alter our understanding of the state process, as we shall argue in this chapter.

The political history and chronology, however, was systematised by Hutchison and Vogel in the 1920s, which is largely followed without any or major revision.[10]

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[8] R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism (CE 300–1200)*, Delhi, 1965, Rep. 1985. For Chambā, see, pp. 102, 177, 186, 189, 190.

[9] Jha, "State Formation in Early Medieval Chamba," D. N. Jha, ed., *Ideology and Society*, Delhi, 1999, pp. 125–34.

[10] Hutchison and Vogel were the first to write the political history, which is still used and is little revised, J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. 1, Lahore, 1933, pp. 268–339. Other prominent studies on Chambā include, Herman Goetz, *Early Wooden Temples of Chambā*, Leiden, 1955, pp. 1–35; V. C. Ohri, *The Sculptures of the Western Himalayas*, Delhi, 1991; Jha, "State Formation in Early Medieval Chamba," pp. 125–34; Romila Thapar, "The Mouse in the Ancestry," in S. D. Joshi, ed., *Amritadhara: Professor R. N. Dandekar Felicitation Volume*, Delhi, 1984, pp. 427–34.

This chapter addresses some of these issues, comprehending the linkage between the stages of state formation and sanskritic or 'classical' theistic symbols in Chambā. It provides a context to the documents published in this selection, in continuity with the early epigraphic tradition. We will also investigate the construction and dominance of the sanskritic (classical tradition) cultural complex in Chambā on the basis of two contradicting sources, the palaeographic[11]—inscriptions and copper plate charters—and the *vaṁśāvalī*-genealogical roll of the Chambā ruling house.[12] The palaeographic source locates the problem over a "longue durée" time framework; the *vaṁśāvalī* fragments it. Therefore, the understanding of the *vaṁśāvalī*, both as an insight into the medieval cultural process as well as the pre-modern state, is significant. It helps in comprehending the mechanism by which religious symbols are legitimised by the monarchical institution, by arrogating history and tradition, to create in turn the consent-to-rule and its legitimation.

The Goddess Motif and Early State

The earliest Chambā inscriptions, ascribed to the seventh-eighth century on palaeographic grounds, suggest a strong Śaivite influence and Kashmir connection.[13] This is not surprising as Kashmir was a major Śaivite centre that developed a particular form of tantric practice known as the *Kaula* tradition. That this form of practice was entrenched in and dominated the neighbouring regions of Chambā may be deduced from later evidence as well.[14]

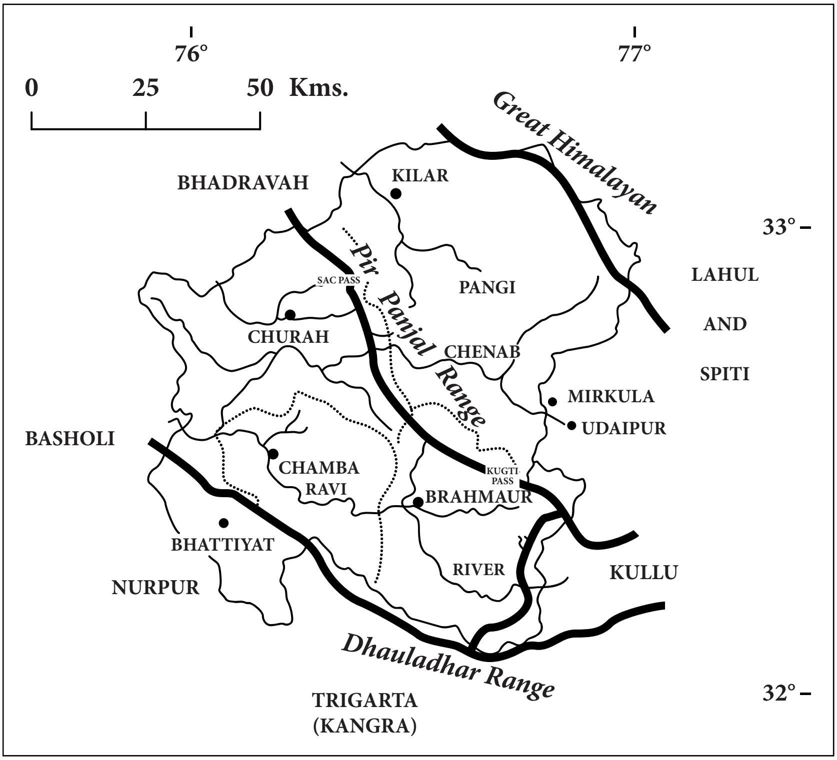
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[11] Cunningham drew the attention towards the epigraphs, Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, 1902–03, pp. 252–64; J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chambā State*, Part I, Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 36 (hereafter, *Antiquities* I) and B.Ch. Chhabra, *Antiquities of Chambā State*, Part II, Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 72. (hereafter, *Antiquities* II) published these primarily in two chronological phases.

[12] The text along with translation by J. Ph. Vogel, published in *Antiquities of Chambā State*, Part I, Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India, No. 36, pp. 82–9, text in Sanskrit, and translation, pp. 89–95. Though the translation has been used, there are certain clarifications and amendments required, posed in the text.

[13] *Antiquities* I, Inscription nos. 1–4, p. 37.

[14] For instance a treaty signed with Jammu in the eighteenth century on its defeat by Chambā forces while recognising the political and economic rights of Chambā over the area of Kihār, Bhāndhal etc., reserves the nurturing of the local faith, common to both Jammu and the areas lost to Chambā, namely *Kaula-pañca-dharma.* See document



Map 1.2 Topography of Chambā

The early inscriptions, having a bearing on the primordial state of Brahmapurā (Bhramaur)—located on the confluence of Rāvī river and Buḍḍhal *nālā*-stream—dated to the eighth century, are closely associated with the erection of temples and/or the consecration of sanskritic religious images—of Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Lakṣaṇā Devī), Gaṇeśa, the Nandī bull at Bhramaur and Śakti Devī at Chatrārī.[15] These inscriptions are also the sites for pronouncing early dynastic genealogy, a device by which the rulers and populace are differentiated. The differentiation is significant as the rulers emerged from the local population, of Moṣūṇa sva-*gotra* (clan), and were not planted from outside as supposed by

C-25, J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chambā*, Calcutta, 1909, p. 70; Mahesh Sharma, *The Realm of Faith: Subversion, Appropriation and Dominance in the Western Himalaya*, Shimla, 2001, pp. 156–57.

[15] *Antiquities* I, Inscription nos. 5–8, pp. 138–45.

Goetz.[16] The ruling house traces its historical bloodline from Aditya Varman, and mythical antecedents from the solar lineage (*Aditya vaṃṣa*). Meru Varman, who was the fourth lineal successor, aggregated fertile territories on the southern banks of Rāvī, from Bhramaur to Chambā, and consecrated the three Bhramaur images. On the outposts of his realm he constructed a shrine of the goddess Śiva-Śakti at Chatrārī, to commemorate his victory as well as to ritually legitimise his rule. The inscription clearly states that the temple was erected "for the spiritual merit of his parents," and was built "after having conquered (his) foes in their invincible strongholds."[17] The prominence attached to the symbol of the demon-slaying goddess, who is named Bhadrakālī in the medieval genealogy-*vaṁśāvalī* of the Chambā rulers, is significant. Through this symbol, not only were the religious affiliations of the ruler stated, he also appropriated the mythological tradition by forging a connective to his conquest with the exploits of the goddess. Various symbols used by the early state were reconciled in a wider religious systemic perspective. The conception of the goddess as Śakti or power is significant. She was closely associated in a dyadic relationship with Rudra—who could control the power, sometimes subverted it, occasionally by devising patriarchal strategy—which is in conformity with the tantric or Śaiva-Śākta mythological tradition which was gaining momentum at this time in the Indo-Gangetic plain in general and Kashmir in particular. The Brahmapurā state used such symbols to create linkages with the sanskritic cultural cosmos beyond the core area and its peripheries.[18] The religious process also set in motion the acculturation and sanskritisation (universalisation) of local practices and symbols, and exerted hegemonic influence on which the structure of state rested.

These symbols were also replicated by the *Sāmanta*-chieftains and linkages created between the intermediate zones with the core region and the peripheral areas (Chambā and Churah at this time) that competed with the Brahmapurā state to limit its expansionist policy and to assert control over the riparian wet-agricultural tracts of the Chambā

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16 Herman Goetz, *Early Wooden Temples of Chamba*, pp. 1–35; Romila Thapar calls Moṣūṇa or mouse in the genealogy as a totem, and implicitly supports the hypothesis of a local clan mobilising resources to become a realm and then a kingdom, "The Mouse in the Ancestry," pp. 427–34.

17 *Antiquities* I, Inscription no. 8, p. 145.

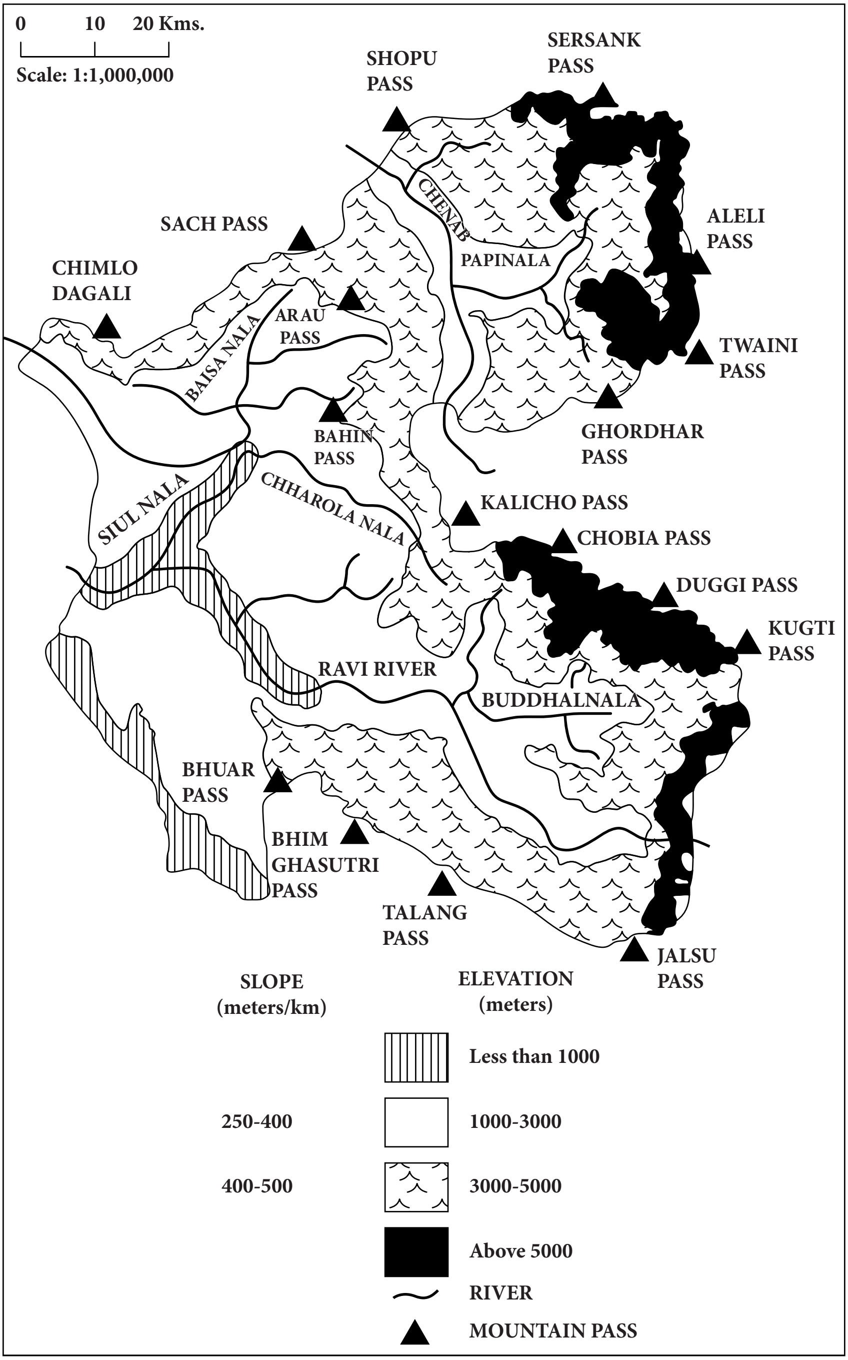
18 Mahesh Sharma, *The Realm of Faith*, pp. 39–45.

valley. The temple building process or erection of images of the goddess and Śiva as well as issuing of *praśasti*-eulogy suggests a competitive environment in which the early 'classical' or sanskritic symbols were used. Thus, Aśāḍha Deva, the contemporary of Meru Varman, designated his territory as Śivapurā and dedicated it to Śaṅkalīśa.[19] His inscription repeats the same epigraphic formula, as of Meru Varman. Yet, while designating himself as *Sāmanta* (feudal chief), who accepted the over-lordship of Brahmapurā, Meru Varman was addressed without titles. The territorial extent of the Brahmapurā 'realm' was rather limited. It either exerted over-lordship or forged alliance with its neighbours. It is interesting that Meru Varman did not appropriate any royal titles in his epigraphs, addressed with honorific *Śrī*, except in the inscription of Gaṇeśa. The image of the lord of 'people' (*Gaṇa-īśa*) in Bhramaur was perhaps built after Meru extended his territories beyond the Rāvī-Buḍḍhal confluence (Maps 1.1 & 1.3). He was designated *Mahārājādhrāja*.[20]

In order to make the 'rule' economically viable and to integrate the Bhramaur valley within a territorial authority, the state sought to control the passes over Dhaulādhār range (see Map 1.4) by the mid-tenth century CE. These passes, for example the Baleṇī pass or the Jālsū pass, not only accessed trade routes into Trigarta, but also secured the 'realm' from any military intervention. Culturally, these outposts of Bhramaur valley resonated with the worship of Śrī Lakṣmī. These territories, such as the Bassu parganā, overlooking the fertile rice producing plain land on the southern slopes of Dhaulādhār range, were brought under the hegemonic sway of Brahmapurā by according them tributary relationship along with titles like *Rājaputra*. Simultaneously, the Bhramaur rulers also elevated themselves, appropriating the title of *Mahārājādhrāja Parmeśvara*.[21]

While the Brahmapurā rulers consolidated themselves on the southern banks of upper Rāvī river, legitimised by Śaiva and Śākta symbols, the chieftains of the peripheral zone of Chambā valley and Churah forged an alliance against expanding Bhramaur. These chieftains, too, manipulated 'classical' symbols. Thus, Bhogaṭa got an image of

[19] "Gum Insp. of Sāmanta Āśāḍha Deva," *Antiquities* I, Inscription pp. 145–7.
[20] "Gaṇeśa Image Insp." *Antiquities* I, pp. 143– 3.
[21] "Tur Rock Insp." *Antiquities* I, Inscription no. 10, p. 147; "Proḷī-rā-Gaḷā of Mrityunjaya Varman," where a local chieftain was administratively co-opted and accorded the title of Rājaputra, Inscription no. 11, pp. 148–9.



Map 1.3 Chambā: Elevation and Drainage

Bhāgavatī made in the Himgirī parganā of Churah, devised a parallel genealogy and sanskritised the local name of the area by appropriating epic cosmology. Claiming birth in Kiṣkindhā district, he celebrated himself as the hereditary *Rājānaka*.[22] Similarly, *Rājānaka* Śatyakī erected a temple of Śiva as Candraśekhara in the mid-tenth century in Sāho, on the confluence of Rāvī and Sāl stream bordering Chambā. The Sāho *praśasti*-eulogy to Śiva and Durgā (*Girīśa putrī*) subtly appropriated the divine roles to the ruler and his wife Somaprabhā, the daughter of the ruling house (lineage) of Kiṣkindhā. While the independent chieftain claimed sanskritic virtues, as the best among men (*Narendra*), he wished his wife, modelled on Gaurī, to befriend eternally the mountain-goddess.[23] Such appropriations, as also by Meru Varman at Chatrārī, were devised to legitimise and aid the rule of the *Rājānaka* who wished to conquer the 'entire world'. The world, however, represented the 'realm' of Brahmapurā and the alliance was firmed up with the chieftain of Churah by entering into matrimonial ties for such a purpose. It is against this background that the nucleus of Brahmapurā state was shifted to Campakapurī (Chambā), after defeating such competitors around the beginning of the second millennium CE.

The early inscriptions tell us little about the social base of the chiefdoms or the Brahmapurā state. However, there are certain pointers. The ruler drew sustenance from his clan as Moṣūṇa *sva-gotra* (or the sanskritised "house of Kiṣkindhā") suggests. However, social hierarchy found roots, contrived by the competing genealogies of the chieftains and a marked use of titles from honorific "*Śrī*" to *Rājānaka*, *Sāmanta*, *Mahārājādhrāja* and *Rājaputra*. The rulers thus segregated themselves from their clan ties, thereby creating a distinct 'class' modelled on the north Indian conception of warrior ruling castes. The Brāhmaṇas, who composed the epigraphs in Sanskrit language, manipulated such linkages with the north Indian polity. Arrogating the acculturating symbols of worship furthered such linkages. The place names were Sanskritised as Śivapurā or Kiṣkindhā, Brahmapurā and later Campakapurī. Obviously, the ruling elite were vying with each other to firm up linkages, appropriating and getting co-opted into the brahmanic system as well, and a new matrix of social dynamics was emerging.[24]

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[22] "Insp. of Rajanaka Bhogata," *Antiquities* I, Inscription no. 12, pp. 150–2.
[23] "Sarahan Prasati," *Antiquities* I, pp. 152–9.
[24] Mahesh Sharma, *The Realm of Faith*, p. 44.

A nexus between the Brāhmaṇas and chieftains was developing. The Brāhmaṇas provided legitimisation to the state process. They were also the ritual specialists in the newly erected temples. However, their exclusive control over the ideological sector was challenged by monastic institutions like the Śaivite monastery (*maṭha*) at Khānī, situated on the east bank of Rāvī-Buḍḍhal confluence.[25] That it was associated with and ideologically influenced the Brahmapurā kingdom is evident from the Khānī boulder-I murals, depicting Mahiṣāsuramardinī,[26] Nandī and Gaṇeśa—the sculptures that Meru Varman got made at Bhramaur.[27] However, the Brāhmaṇas had a social role to play as well and their expertise as ritual specialists perhaps prevailed upon the state and surmounted any competition. That a vigorous temple building process was taking place possibly under-girded their importance to the chieftains as genealogists, scribes, educators and ritual experts.

Textual Legitimisation and the State Process

The second phase begins with the shift of nucleus from Brahmapurā to Chambā. While the symbol of the goddess was successively relegated to the background, that of Śiva and the *Raudra* manifestation of Viṣṇu (fierce or terrifying; that aids in war) developed. This is in spite of the *vaṁśāvalī* assuming that the shrine of Mahiṣāsuramardinī (Bhadrakālī in the *vaṁśāvalī*) as a territorial goddess Campāvatī was built by Sāhilla Varman, as the tutelary deity of Chambā.[28] There is, however, no evidence either to vindicate or compromise such an association. The territorial state was announced by Yugākāra Varman in his tenth regnal year by building and endowing a temple of Nṛsiṁha, the lion-headed incarnation of Viṣṇu (also, Narasiṁha), in Bhramaur *manḍala*-district.[29] The building of a temple in Bhramaur to commemorate victory, as was

[25] "Bhramaur Copper Plate Insp. of Yugākāra Varman," mentions the Khānī hospice while making an alternative grant to Nṛsiṁha temple, *Antiquities* I, no. 14, 159–64.

[26] Iconographically, all the earliest Chambā goddesses are Mahiṣāsuramardinī. This is due to the fact that irrespective of the local, Mahiṣāsuramardinī can be worshipped in all or any *pīṭha*, and graciously endows the worshipper. See, *The Kulacūḍāmaṇi Tantra*, Ch. 6, L. M. Finn, tr., The *Kulacūḍāmaṇi Tantra and the Vāmakeśvara Tantra: with the Jayaratha Commentary*, Wiesbaden, 1986.

[27] "Bhramaur Rock Insp.," *Antiquities* I, pp. 252–55.

[28] *Antiquities* I, genealogy, Sans. text vs. 67–9, p. 86.

[29] "Bhramaur Copper Plate Insp. of Yugākāra Varman," *Antiquities* I, no. 14, 159–64.

the earlier tradition, reflects the extent of and control over fresh acquisitions in the Chambā valley. Perhaps, the arable land around Chambā was not yet consolidated into the state enterprise, which resulted in the rulers falling back on the core area.

This, however, is also a question of perspective. Since the symbol of Śiva and goddess as 'energiser' was espoused by the competing periphery, the newly established Chambā state sought fresh instruments of legitimisation in new symbols like the temple of Nṛsiṁha. Not only was the temple built in the Śaivite sacred-complex contrived by Meru Varman, but the land was also granted adjacent to the Khānī hospice. It is presumably through such a subtle mechanism that the Chambā court announced a shift in the religious process. This was influenced by theistic developments in Kashmir as well, where *Kāśmīrāgama* sect or *Tantrāntra* gained ground in which the worship of *bhūyiṣṭha-mukha* Viṣṇu—particularly Varāha and Nṛsiṁha—was accorded primacy. The spatial specification is also in consonance with *Tantras* and *Āgamas*, that the deity be placed to the west of the Śaiva central shrine.[30] Thus, while primacy in epigraph was accorded to Śiva—*Tryambakeśaṇa Rudra*—who is invoked in all epigraphs of the period as the primary deity, the ruler being the foremost devotee (*parma Tryambakeśaṇa*), the sacred landscape was dotted with competing ideologies.

At the same time, the royal personages were visiting pan-Indian pilgrim places like Kurukṣetra to further firm up linkages with the north Indian cosmologies. Coming into contact with the Brāhmaṇa ritualists and textualists at such centres, the rulers invited and endowed them with land grants. The first *agrahāra* grant (the land assignment made over only to Brāhmaṇas, also called *Brahmadeya*)[31] in Chambā area was thus made to Kaśyapa *gotra tri-pravara* Brāhmaṇas of *Vājasaneya-śakhā* (the school of) from Kurukṣetra on the occasion of hibernal solstice in the first half of the eleventh century.[32] Apart from widening the

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[30] For iconography and spatial ordering, T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I: I, Madras, 1914, Delhi, 1985 (reprint), pp. 39–40; iconography, pp. 145–61.

[31] *Agrahāra* or *brahmadeya* is defined in the lexicons as: "*agraṁ brāhmaṇabhojanaṁ/ tadarthaṁ hriyate pṛthakkriyate iti agrahāraḥ*//. That is, the land separated from the tax-paying holdings and set apart for the maintenance of the Brāhmaṇa families. J. N. Agrawal calls them "follower of the school of the Vājasaneyas," *Inscriptions of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Kashmir and Adjoining Hilly Tracts*, Delhi, 1999, p. 73 (hereafter, IHHPPKAHT).

[32] "Sungal Copper Plate Insp. of Vidagdha," *Antiquities* I, no. 15, pp. 164–9. The first land grant, however, is made by his predecessor, Yugākāra Varman, in the Brahmapurā

sanskritic cultural network, such Brāhmaṇas provided textual legitimisation to the state, which thereafter approximated the early medieval north Indian polity.

The eulogy portion of grant charters was used to define kingship: the upholder of scriptures, *dvija* (twice born) caste society and sanskritic scriptural-legal system; expansionist; protector and refuge of the poor and supplicants. The king assumed grandiloquent titles, as was the early medieval practice, also in conformity with the freshly acquired status of the ruler of Brahmapurā-Caṃpaka state, as *Parmabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhrāja Parmeśvara Śrī*. As a sovereign ruler of Chambā, the king made land grants to the Brāhmaṇas and temples, with precisely defined boundaries, resources, measures and rights. For instance, a land grant made to Kaśyapa Brāhmaṇa comprised of one and a half *bhū*, which consisted of "grass, grazing and pasture-ground, together with fruit-trees and with the water-courses and channels, with approaches, ingress and egress, with fallow-land and cultivated land, with (the fine for) the ten offences, to be enjoyed by the succession of sons, sons...." The right over tillers was extended to the donee who were to "deliver him regular share for using the land" along with tax in kind and cash and other customary dues as paid to the state. Much is made out of the *vāpya* or tank irrigated land and *kohlikā* or canal or rivulet-duct irrigated land;[33] *polācya*, cultivated wet land or *khila*, fallow or single-crop rain-fed-land.[34] The early grants were made in fertile areas yielding

district to one Harihalla Rāṇakila, "Bhramaur Copper Plate Insp. of Yugākāra Varman," *Antiquities* I, no. 14, 159–64.

[33] Most of the irrigation was through the gravity flowing irrigation ducts called Kuhls, more common in the present day *Pālam* area of Kāngrā districts, Himachal Pradesh. For Kāngrā discussion see, J. Mark Baker, *The Kuhls of Kāngrā: Community-Managed Irrigation in the Western Himalaya*, Seattle, 2005; for management, J. Mark Baker, "Common Property Resource Theory and the Kuhl irrigation systems of Himachal Pradesh, India," *Human Organization,* Summer 1997; 56, 2, pp. 199–208.

[34] The earliest reference to *khila* or fallow land being a part of the land grant is the "Kulait Copper Plate Inscription of Soma Varman" issued in his seventh regnal year (c. 1067 CE) to the Brāhmaṇa of the *Vājasaneyi śākha* in the parganā of Trehṭā (*Trighaṭaka*). *Antiquities*, I, Inscription no. 24, pp. 185–87; IHHPPKAHT, Inscription no. 39, p. 205. The fallow land given in this grant along with pasture and irrigated land is perhaps indicative of crop rotation bi-annually or annually. From the above grant it is evident that of the two harvests, only one is paid, the land being fallow for the second, perhaps to reclaim fertility, or it being dependent on rain water without which it could not be seeded. Since all the entries do not have *khilgat* or being fallow for one crop, it means that the state exempted some parganās or individual plots to keep them fallow. Also, in the "Chambā Copper Plate Inscription of Soma Varman and Āsaṭa" issued in his eleventh year to the temples of Harī Rai and Caumasni, grants

wheat, rice, sugarcane and buckwheat, apart from vegetables. The Gupta or post Gupta land measures were adopted, e.g., *pīṭaka*, a fixed measure by volume of grain sown as mentioned in the Bhramaur epigraph of Yugākāra. Another such measure, mentioned in the Sumangala grant of Vidagdha,[35] was known as *bhū*.[36] The injunction for making grants and against appropriation or resumption or intervention in such an arrangement was legitimised by using Vedic verses regarding the merits of donation or *dāna-dharma*, and divine censure on any infringement of the *dāna*-donation arrangement.

The tax base of the state was also enumerated, consistent with the north Indian system. The regular tax consisted of *bhoga, bhāga, kara*, and *hiraṇya*, apart from *tṛṇī, gocara-puśkarī*. *Bhoga*, as explained by Medhatithi, refers to the rights of the state to fruits or fuel wood etc; *bhāga*, a tax in proportion to productivity which was usually one-sixth;

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are made explicitly along with pastures, kitchen-gardens, grazing grounds, the "fallow land large and small" (*khilo-upa-khilam*), *Antiquities*, II. Agrawal translates this as "fallow and semi-fallow land," Inscription no. 40, IHHPPKAHT, p. 214. Such a grant was also made to one Brāhmaṇa Maca in c. 1105 CE in the parganā of Bhattara by Āsaṭa Deva, "Thundhu Copper Plate Inscription of Āsaṭa," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 26, pp. 199–202; Inscription no. 42, IHHPPKAHT, pp. 219–23. In the "Chambā Plate of Pratapsimha Time, VS 1636," issued in 1579 CE, a grant was made inclusive of uncultivated land "*khila khetra samūta*," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 4, pp. 28–30. *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 23, pp. 63–70. *Khili* is also used in the "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra, VS 1693," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 63, p. 135.

[35] "Sungal Copper Plate Insp. of Vidagdha," *Antiquities* I, no. 15, pp. 164–9.

[36] Interestingly, *pīṭaka* literally means a basket, perhaps signifying a fixed volume measure rather than the weight. Volume measure when translated to weighted measure would be different for rice (paddy), wheat, corn and millet. According to Deambi and Vogel, one *pīṭaka or peda* consisted of 40 *seers*. The weighted measure was also used as land measure in terms of seed sown. We know that in an area, a fixed amount of seed was required; therefore, translating the weighted measure into an equivalent landed measure. According to "Bhramaur Copper Plate Inscription of Yugākāra Varman," *pīṭaka* is also used as a land measure. According to verse 7–10, of the total canal irrigated land of two bhū, "one *pīṭaka* of rice is given from the *vāpya* (or irrigated land) land" (*vāpeya-ye-dhāna pīṭakam eka dāttaṃ*). That the weighted measure were used as land measure, as the amount to be sown or produced, depending upon the context of the grant, is not unusual to the area. *Pīṭaka* as a land measure is also mentioned in the "Sankheda plate of Dadda-II of the Kalachuri year 392," or as sown weighted measure in some Gupta inscriptions also. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 342, fn. 7, and S. K. Maitey, *Economic Life in Northern India in the Gupta Period*, Delhi, 1980 (2nd edn.), pp. 40–41, have calculated *pīṭaka* as land measure, or converted it from the land measure, as from *droṇavāpa*. The calculations, or conversions, however are not very convincing.

Land measure: 4 *bhūmākṣa* = 1 *bhū;* 1 *bhū* = 5.6 *lahris* (14 *lahris* = 2 ½ *bhū*); 1 *bhū* = 17 acres; 1 *pīṭaka* = 40 *droṇavāpa;* 1 *droṇavāpa* = 48 acres/25 acres; 1 *pīṭaka* = 1920 acres/1000 acres; 1 *pīṭaka* = 72/82 acres.

kara, perhaps the land rent or "property tax;" *hiraṇya*, literally gold, perhaps the royal share in produce to be paid in kind; *tṛṇī*, a tax to make hay in meadows or grasslands; *gocara-puśkarī*, for the daily use of pastures. Apart from tax, certain services were expected from peasantry like tillage, domestic help or forced-labour[37] (corvée). Village or *grāma* was the basic fiscal unit and *manḍala* or district was the largest unit in the fiscal or administrative division of the state.

The state was also defined in term of eighteen elements or *aṣṭadaśa-prākrityas*. The Brāhmaṇas formed the apex of *aṣṭadaśa-prākrityas* and untouchable castes (like Medas, Āndrakas, Dhīvaras-fishermen and Canḍālas) the bottom. The administrative hierarchy, not necessarily real, was enumerated, consisting of: people and chieftains—*Rājā, Rājānaka, Rājaputra, Rājamātya and Rājasthānī* (all inhabitants); the bureaucratic apparatus—*Kumārāmātya, Sarobhanga, Upārikā, Prāntapāla, Viṣayapatī, Nehelpatī*; forces—chiefs of elephant, horses, camels and forces; *Dūta, Gāmagāmikā, Abhītvaramaṇa; Khasa, Kulīka*; superintendent of customs, forests, *Khānarakśā, Taḍapatī*; police—thief-catcher, rod-bearer, *Ḍanḍavāsikā; Bhogapatī, Vinayuktaka*; landed class—*Bhāgika* or landowners, *Bhogika* or landholders; district officials—*Cāṭas, Bhāṭas*; the *Kuṭumbī*-householders and countrymen or *Janapadaṃśca*.[38]

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[37] That the state "extracted services or forced labour from the cultivators who dwell(ed) in the village" is also evident from the "Chambā Plate of Rajasimha, VS 1835," where such exemption is made in the land donated in 1776 CE to a Brāhmaṇa, *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 80, pp. 162–64. The earliest literary example of forced labour in the western Himalayan region, however, comes from Kalhana's *Rājataranginī*, (M. A. Stein, tr. *Kalhana's Rajatarangani: A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. I, signed 1900, Delhi, 1961, Book V&VII) during the reign of King Samkara Varman, 883–902 CE, who made no exemption even to the Brāhmaṇas. He enforced *kār-begār* or forced labour for load-carriage, though there seems to be some protest against it, disguised in non-compliance, as there are instances of fines on such incidents. For example, when king Samkara Varman, "…was in another region, he fined those villages who did not come to carry their loads, for one year, by the value of the load (calculated) according to the (higher) prices of that region" (V: 172). "In the next year he fined without any fault all villagers in the respective villages, by the value of the load according to the same calculations" (V: 173). He thus systematised (*rūḍhabharodhī*) the forced carriage of thirteen unspecified kinds of loads (*kār begār*). The Brāhmaṇas were also subject to forced labour and they got exemption from this forced carriage of loads from King Harsha, who ruled Kashmir in 1089–1101 CE. As Kalhana writes, "The member of the local Purohita corporation then induced the king by a solemn fast (*praya*) to grant (them) in compensation exemption from the forced carriage of loads" (VII: 1088, p. 352).

[38] "Sungal Copper Plate Insp. of Vidagdha," *Antiquities* I, no. 15, pp. 164–9.

The state used these charters to make direct and subtle statements.[39] The issuance of land grants confirms the extent and penetration of the state that vied for recognition from contemporary north Indian rulers. It, therefore, modelled itself on them—upholding the caste society and promoting sanskritic cultural traditions. The charters were also used to rein in the bureaucratic apparatus over which it exerted little control, particularly in freshly acquired territories. These officials, *Cāṭas* and *Bhāṭas*, coerced the peasantry and appropriated a "portion of their raw and ripe crops, sugarcane, salt and cow's milk" along with vegetable, fuel-wood, grass, chaff as well as their movable assets like "stools, benches or cots," etc. They also prevailed upon the services of "cowherds, maids and servants" of the Brāhmaṇa donee.[40]

The state asserted control over mountain passes overlooking the fertile region of Trigarta, where the images of Kārtīkaya and Bhagavatī were raised.[41] The chieftains were addressed as *Rāṇeṇa* or *Rāṇā*—either a parochial form of *Rājānaka* or, perhaps, a reflection of their servile status—co-opted into the bureaucratic framework of the state. Churah, however, continued to remain peripheral to Chambā's control. Numerous fountain-stones dedicated to the water god Varuṇa were erected in the territory of Churah by Brāhmaṇas and local chieftains. The centrality in these decorative fountain-stone panels is given to Varuṇa. The deity is depicted standing or seated, holding a snake in the right and a lotus flower in the left hand, flanked by river goddesses, perhaps Gangā and Yamunā. The donor invariably inscribed these fountain-stones.

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[39] The Sungala grant is more explicit and a complete statement, though the grant of Yugākāra is the first such attempt, *Antiquities* I, pp. 159–69.

[40] M. C. Joshi, "Reflections of Socio-Cultural Life in the Early Chambā Inscriptions of Vidagdha," in *The Western Himalayan Kingdom*, p. 36, the inscription is reproduced in the appendix. Also, J. N. Agrawal, Inscription no. 30, IHHPPKAHT, pp. 181–7. R. S. Sharma, states that the services, if not stated other wise, could be coerced by the state functionaries, *Indian Feudalism*, p. 102, based on the reading of inscription by A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports-1902–03*, pp. 252–3, II, pp. 22–4.

[41] The chieftains of these areas contributed militarily to the Chambā rulers while acknowledging their suzerainty, though earlier they flaunted independence by compiling a genealogy of their independent claims. The images of Kārtīkaya and Bhagavatī were also raised, which are suggestive of the popularity of Śaivite or Śākta ideology in these areas, even though the name of the chieftain suggests his preference for the Vaiṣṇava dogma. "Tur Image Inscription of Thakkaka," *Antiquities* I, pp. 172–3, and "Tur Image Inscription of Dodaka," *Antiquities* I, pp. 174–75. Both these examples emphasise the diversity of faith in the mountainous periphery and the religious tilt of the state, which problematises the process by which the frontiers of the state were extended. Such parallel symbols, reflective of the dissenting religious ideology, buttressed the claims of the elite classes to assert and negotiate their economic and political status with the state.

In these inscriptions allegiance to a 'ruler' or territorial claims were made. The brahmanic recognition of local rulers, who were apparently independent of Kashmir or Chambā states, was curt. For instance, Dadvār fountain-stone (Vogel dates it to 1041 CE) was erected by one Brāhmaṇa Bhoga in the memory of his father in the "reign of *Śrīmat* Trailokya Deva," as also by Pripurṇa at Bhakund (1028–29 CE), both inscriptions failing to mention the 'titles' of the local ruler.[42] These epigraphs, from Tīssā parganā, perhaps indicate the humble or tributary status of the ruler. This, however, was contrary to the perception of local chieftains, who recognised him as an independent ruler. Thus, when the scion of a local chieftain, whose ancestors were *Rājānakas*, erected half a dozen fountain-stones for his ancestors at Naghāī, in Sāī Koṭhi, he recognised the independent rule of Trailokya Deva, who was addressed as *Mahārājādhrāja Parmeśvara Śrī*. The territoriality of the chieftain, however, must have been restricted, with constant pressure from the Chambā court. In the Bhanota fountain stone in Loh-Ṭikirī parganā, though, allegiance was explicit to the Chambā ruler Soma Varman.[43] No land grant in the area has been recovered, suggesting marginal control, if ever, over Churah.

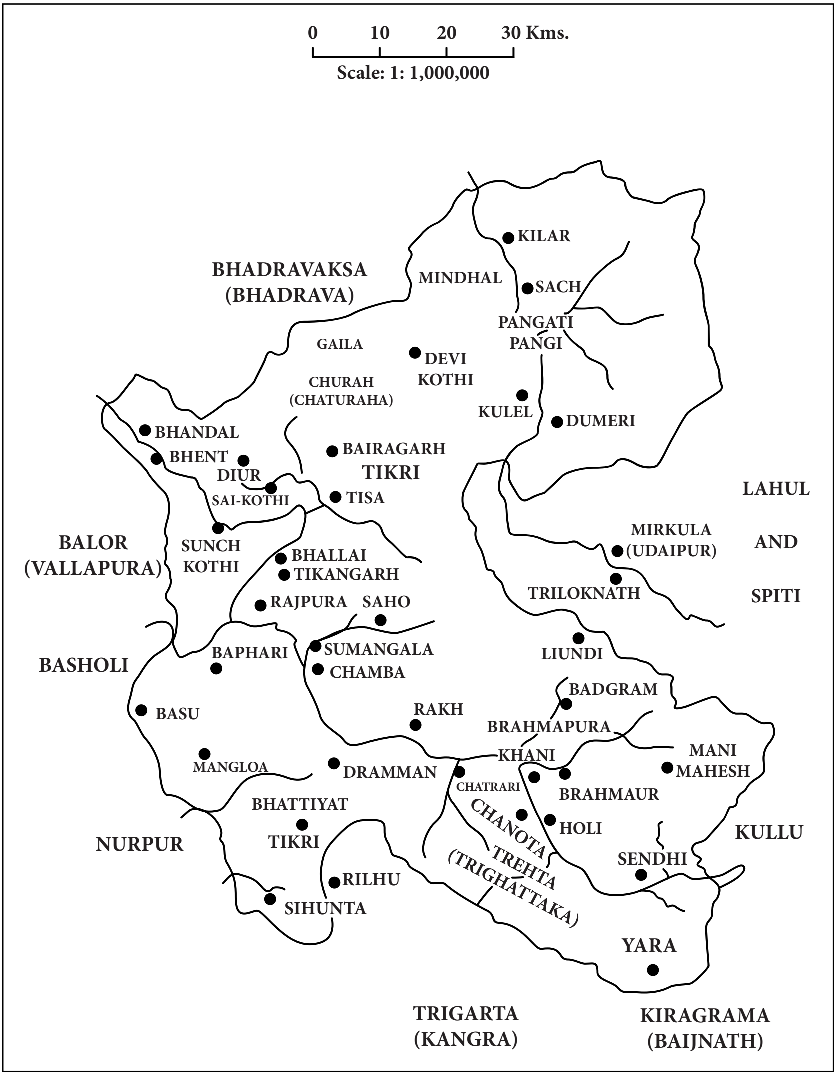
This phase is characterised by the shifting of the nucleus to Chambā and consolidation of the arable area in the valley. With the territorial aggrandisement, textual legitimisation was also sought by settling Brāhmaṇas from the pan-Indian pilgrim centres. Land charters were used as a tool to construct such legitimisation. Thus, all the administrative, revenue, land measure, and agrarian terms were sanskritised and standardised in consonance with such practices in the Gupta and post Gupta north India. Such practices elevated the state in the esteem of both the subject-population and the neighbouring kingdoms. *Rājatarangiṇī*, the chronicle of Kashmir, mentions Chambā for the first time around this period. Kashmir entered into a matrimonial alliance with Chambā on reciprocal basis.[44]

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[42] "Dadvar Fountain Insp. of the Reign of Trailokya Deva," *Antiquities*, I, no. 20, pp. 176–7; and "Bhakund Fountain Insp.," *Antiquities*, I, no. 21, pp. 177–8.

[43] "Naghai Fountain Insp. of the Rājānaka Deva Praśāda Dated in the Reign of Trailokya Deva," *Antiquities*, I, no. 22, pp. 178–80; and "Bahnota Fountain Insp. of Soma Varman," *Antiquities*, I, no. 23, pp. 180–2.

[44] M. A. Stein, tr., *Kalhana's Rājatarangiṇī: A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. I, signed 1900, Delhi, 1961, Vol. I, VII: 218, 587–90, etc., pp. 286, 315.



Map 1.4 Chambā: Major Habitations

Political Rupture: Constructing Consent-to-Rule

The third phase has close linkages with events in Kashmir. There was Vaiṣṇava revival in Kashmir and during the reign of Harsha, Śaiva temples were also desecrated.[45] This is a prelude to the political turmoil in Kashmir in which Chambā also participated. Chambā had been recognised by then as a state of considerable importance and marriage ties were therefore firmed up. There was, however, a rupture in the Chambā dynastic rule. The Kashmiri ruler, Ananta Deva, reportedly killed Śālavāhana (Śālakāra).[46] Āsaṭa and Jāsaṭa Deva, the cognate kin of Kashmir rulers, perhaps deposed Śālavāhana's successor, Soma Varman, as there are tensions evident in his grant-charter. Not only are their names not sanskritic, unlike earlier and later Chambā rulers, they along with their father (Śālavāhana), also dropped the 'Varman' surname. Perhaps, it is indicative of their dependent status. Chambā, during their reign was closely allied with, and was probably subordinated by Kashmir. *Rājataranginī* points out that Āsaṭa paid homage to King Ananta Deva, along with other eight neighbouring rulers.[47] Subsequently, Jāsaṭa, the successor of Āsaṭa, played a vital role in espousing his cousin Harsha's claim to Kashmir; firming up alliances with other hill chieftains "who left together for a pilgrimage to Kurukṣetra;" constituting matrimonial ties; and rendering military assistance against the Dāmars.[48]

That there was a disruption in the Chambā lineal descent is indicated by the Kulaiṭ land grant in Trighaṭaka *manḍala,* which is jointly signed by Soma Varman and his predecessor Śālavāhana Deva.[49] This charter is followed by the 'Chambā Copper Plate Inscription', which replicates the same formula as the first and is signed jointly by Soma Varman and his successor, Āsaṭa.[50] Both grants digress from the 'formula' of the

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[45] *Rājataranginī*, VII: 1087–89, 1091–98, pp. 351–2; in wider context of identity and cultural conflict theory, Mahesh Sharma, "Understanding the 'Self': Hindus Desecrating 'Hindu' Temples," *New Quest*, 147, Jan.–Mar. 2002, pp. 49–66.

[46] *Rājataranginī* mentions the king Śāla, who was killed by Anant Deva. The Harī Rai grant refers to one Śālakāra Varman, blessed by Śiva in whose memory queen Rarda Devi got the temple built. The inscription mentions Soma Varman referring to Sālavāhan Deva. It is not possible that the scribe confused the two names, dropping Varman in one case and mis-spelling the other.

[47] *Rājataranginī*, VII: 587–90, p. 315.

[48] *Rājataranginī*, VIII: 1083–6, 1443—pp. 27, 86, 113; VII: 319, 1512–4—pp. 294, 385.

[49] "Kulait Copper Plate Insp. of Soma Varman," *Antiquities*, I, no. 24, pp. 182–87.

[50] "Chambā Copper Plate Insp. of Soma Varman and Āsaṭa," *Antiquities*, I, no. 25, pp. 187–97.

preceding and succeeding grant charters and attempt to reaffirm the lineal genealogy by invoking the lineage of Moṣūṇa and the founder of Chambā, Sāhilla Varman. The attempt is to claim 'blood ties', a singular consent to authority in such circumstances. The first grant was a reappropriation and regulating grant made to the *Vājasaneya* Brāhmaṇas; the other an *agrahāra* (land assignment) made to the Harī-Rai temple, to the cook and watchmen, perhaps of the same temple.[51] The reappropriation of land grants, both secular and sacred, including those made to the temple deities, was quite a usual practice. In fact, the rulers of Kashmir, since the times of Śaṃkara Varman in the early ninth century, took back temple grants to augment their resources during the times of distress.[52] The distress in the Soma-Āsaṭa charter, however, is discernible if we compare the succeeding land grant by Āsaṭa Deva, issued in the later half of the 12th century to assert his rule, to Kaśyapa Brāhmaṇas in the Hol valley.[53] He does not attempt genealogical expropriation and repeats the charter formula of the early land grants. Subsequently, no land-grant charter was issued for the next two centuries.

In the Soma-Śālavāhana and Soma-Āsaṭa inscriptions, Sāhilla is credited with conquest for the first time after the passage of four generations. He triumphed over the Kīras and Saumāṭikas, both allies of Kashmir, to pave way for the shifting of the capital to Chambā.[54] The Kīras in question were the Tibetan rulers of Gugge, who also controlled some

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[51] Vogel in his commentary supposes the cook and watchmen to be that of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple, *Antiquities* I, p. 190. There is, however, no basis for this presumption, as the temple was built later and there are no grants to the shrine prior or contemporary to this charter, which is not congruent with the fact that this was the foremost shrine of Chambā. In fact Vogel is preoccupied with the evidence of the *vaṁśāvalī*, which as we shall argue later, is unreliable.

[52] *Rājataranginī*, V: 170–71, 179–81, pp. 209–10. He also reappropriated many provisions made in the grant in the garb of royal share, V: 167–8, p. 208; Kalhana calls him the "robber of what the temples possessed in villages," V: 167, p. 208. The most famous order however was recorded by Kalhana: "Let the villages, the gold, and other (property) bestowed upon the (temple of Siva) Kalasesvara be taken away. With the stones of that temple I shall build you a bridge over the (river) *Vitasta* (Jhelum)." *Rājataranginī*, VII: 1077.

[53] "Thundhu Copper Plate Insp. of Āsaṭa," *Antiquities*, I, no. 26, pp. 197–200.

[54] Baijnāth was called Kīragrāma when the inscription eulogising Śiva was issued in 1204 CE. Obviously, the Kīras were not entrenched at this time and Baijnāth was one of the principalities of the Jālandhara kingdom, which is interchangeably called Trigarta in the second inscription (II. 16 and 18), G. Buhler, "The Two Praśastis of Baijnāth," *Epigraphia Indica*, I, Calcutta, 1892, pp. 97–118.

territory in the upper Rāvī valley and Baijnāth in Kāngrā.[55] *Rājatarangiṇī* is silent on this event, which allegedly took place in the tenth century and is retrospectively mentioned in these twelfth century charters.[56] Kalhana, however, talks about the Kīras, who along with Dārds, helped Kashmir in a war against Kinnars and other Himalayan people much later in the time of Jāsaṭa. This anachronism apart, Sāhilla is also projected as holding dominant power over Kulaiṭ and Trigarta. The second inscription ascribes to him the conquest over *Turuṣka*. Such ascription is both enigmatic and anachronistic. The term *Turuṣka* is either used to emphasise the appropriation of 'polity', as the stories of Mahmud of Ghazni's incursion into Nagarkoṭa (1009 CE) spread in the hills; or, it is perhaps used for the 'cultural other', as was also used by Kalhana for the iconoclast Kashmiri ruler Harsha.[57] Sāhilla is, moreover, depicted as a pious king who visited Kurukṣetra and is compared to epico-Puranic personalities like Yudhiṣṭra, Karṇa, Paraśurāma and King Śibī. It is interesting to observe that Soma Varman compares himself to Rāma, the protagonist of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, for his filial devotion and piety.[58] Parental devotion is also expressed to substantiate and emphasise the

[55] A Tibetan inscription of eleventh or twelfth century, "*Khyun-po-jo-nu-phags-ba(s)*" or "The august younger prince of the Garuda Lords," along with a note by A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, Archaeological Survey of India, XXXVII, Delhi, 1975 (reprint), pp. 253–55. The twelfth century also ties with *Rājatarangiṇī*, which mentions Kīras around this time, *Rājatarangiṇī*, VIII: 2767, p. 217.

[56] *Rājatarangiṇī*, VIII: 2767, p. 217.

[57] Kalhana also uses the term *Turuṣka* around this time for the Kashmiri king Harsha of the Lohara dynasty (1089–1101 AD). Harsha plundered the "treasures bestowed to the temples by former kings"—all except the temples of Mārtanda and of Rāmasvāmin—in order to fund his army. He also carried the "statues of gods," to supplement his revenues, through the office of *Udayaraja*, the "prefect for the overthrow of divine images" (*devotpatananāyaka*). *Rājatarangiṇī*, VII: 1090–98, pp. 352–53; Kalhana writes that: "There was not one temple in a village, town or in the City which was not despoiled of its images by that *Turuṣka*, king Harsha," *Rājatarangiṇī*, VII: 1095, p. 353; see also, Mahesh Sharma, "Understanding the 'Self': Hindus Desecrating 'Hindu' Temples," *New Quest*, 147, Jan.–Mar. 2002, pp. 49–66; for the portrayal of the cultural other as represented in ancient literature, Romila Thapar, "Image of the Barbarian in Early India," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 13 (IV) October 1971; for theorisation of temple desecration, Richard M. Eaton, "Temple Desecration and Indo-Muslim States," *Essays on Islam and Indian History*, Delhi, 2000. Two polemical works aimed at understanding the way 'other' has been portrayed in the ancient sources are, Aloka Parasher, *Mlecchas in Early India: A Study in Attitudes towards Outsiders up to CE 600*, Delhi, 1991, and for later period, B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and the Muslims*, Delhi, 1998. Essays presented in *Cultural Otherness and Beyond*, eds. Chhanda Gupta and D. P. Chattopadhayaya, Leiden, 1998, tries to contextualise 'other' beyond accepted cultural boundaries.

[58] "Kulait Copper Plate Insp. of Soma Varman," *Antiquities*, I, no. 24, pp. 182–87.

genetic lineage; to perpetuate the dynastic prerogative and to construct a claim within that framework.

Though the rulers continued to project themselves as supreme worshippers of both Viṣṇu and Śiva (*parma-Vaiṣṇava parma-Māheśavara*), there is a clear shift toward Vaiṣṇavism, particularly of the *Pañcarātra* or *Vaikhāṇasa* school, which was popular in Kashmir. This involved the worship of *bhūyiṣṭhamukha*-Viṣṇu, particularly Varāha and Nṛsiṁha, along with Vaikunṭha-Nārāyaṇa. Harī-Rai temple, which was erected on the banks of Rāvī and endowed along with other nondescript Vaiṣṇava temple, belongs to this genre. The image of four headed, or Caturmukha-Vaikunṭha (consisting of Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Saumya or Vāsūdeva and Kapila), contained in the Harī-Rai temple, is one such example of Kashmiri cultural import. The iconography of Vaikunṭha was developed in the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa*, a text of Kashmiri provenance.[59] This explains the popularity of such images in Kashmir and its neighbouring areas.[60] Inclusion of Kapila in the Vaikunṭha images, occasionally substituted by Pradyumana, signifies the influence of the Sāṃkhya philosophical tradition, *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* only synthesising the *vaibhava* and *vyūha* doctrines that existed concurrently. Such Vaikunṭha forms were built on the banks of rivers, usually outside the habited areas, as in Chambā, to invoke yoga or meditation.

In the eulogy part of the charters after Soma Varman, reference to Kṛṣṇite devotion-*bhakti*, as Murārī, ascends. Vaiṣṇavism was, however, much stronger in the peripheral region of Churah, particularly Devī-rī-Koṭhi.[61] A *tri-mukha* (three-headed) image of Vaikunṭha Viṣṇu, of Varāha and Nṛsiṁha on the left and right with the central *Saumya-rūpa* of Viṣṇu seated on a Garuḍa, holding Lakṣmī (Bhūdevī?) with his left hand and a mace in his right was made and successively inscribed. The first inscription commemorates the victory of Rāṇā Pāla Deva who asserted independence by appropriating the title of *Parmabhaṭṭāraka*

[59] D. C. Bhattacharyya, tr. Ed., *Pratimālakṣaṇa of the Viṣṇudharmottara*, Delhi, 1991, 44: 9–14, pp. 3–4.

[60] R. N. Misra, "The Vaikuntha Images from Chambā and Other Centres in North-Western India," in V. C. Ohri and Amarnath Khanna, eds., *A Western Himalayan Kingdom: History and Culture of the Chambā State*, Delhi, 1989, pp. 110–19.

[61] For a general survey of sculpture in Chambā, which is a pointer to the competing ideologies, V. C. Ohri, "Sculpture of Chambā: A Brief Survey," in *A Western Himalayan Kingdom*, pp. 160–70. However, it is difficult to reconcile with the chronological framework of Ohri, who generally antiquates the sculpture more than perhaps is stylistically and historically corroborated. Perhaps, an uncritical reliance on the evidence of Chambā *Vaṁśāvalī* clouds his analysis.

Mahārājādhrāja Parmeśvara Śrī. In another inscription, Nāga Pāla allied himself to the Chambā rule and the title of *Rājānaka* was conferred on him. In this eulogy charter, his mother, who built a cistern in the memory of his father, dedicated herself to charity and fasting, becoming a faithful devotee of the conqueror of Mura, that is Kṛṣṇa (*Mura vairiṇī bhaktiṃ*). In the third inscription, Nāga Pāla is credited with the setting up of this image.[62]

The tradition of erecting fountain-stones and cisterns became a community affair, an indicator of the sanskritisation-universalisation of the local cultural ethos. This is reflected in the Luj fountain-stone in Pāngī (c. 1105–06 CE), a reference to an area that could link Chambā, Kashmir and Lahul, erected during the reign of Chambā ruler Jāsaṭa. On the occasion, people gathered grains and material for feast worth 20 (30) *drammas*.[63] Jāsaṭa, who perhaps wished to expand the cash base of the state—and is credited with striking the first known silver coin[64]—desired to control the strategic Sāc pass (see Map 1.4). He probably co-opted Pāngī for trade purposes.[65] That Pāngī provided a meeting ground for traders is evident from the Salhī fountain inscription, which was issued around 1170 CE, in the reign of Lalita Varman. It refers to the organisation of the toll tax, *Segaṇa*, where, apart from the chieftain of Pāngī, administrators like *Pratihāra, Ḍanḍavāsika* and the official of *Segaṇa* were present, reflecting the bureaucratic control exercised by Chambā.[66] The control over *Segaṇa* (derived from Tibetan *Sogampa*), meaning a custom-house,[67] is in conformity with the attempt of Chambā to control all passes for trade and military purposes. The collection from toll-centres was significant. This is also evident from the 1204 CE Baijnāth inscription, where the chieftain donated six *drammas* daily from the collection of a 'custom-house' to the Śaiva temple

[62] Three inscriptions, known as "Devi-ri-Koṭhī Insps.," *Antiquities*, I, nos. 30–32, are "Nārāyaṇa Image Insp. of Rajanaka Naga-Pala," pp. 207–08; "Stone Insp. of Rana-Pala of the year 2," pp. 208–09; "Fountain Insp. of Rajanaka Naga-Pala of the 17th year of Lalita Varman," pp. 209–16.

[63] "Luj Fountain Insp. of the first year of Jāsaṭa," *Antiquities*, I, no. 28, pp. 202–05.

[64] Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Currency System of Chambā," in *A Western Himalayan Kingdom*, p. 87.

[65] Pāngī provided a meeting ground for traders from Lahul, Chambā, Kullu and Kashmir, and indirectly the traders of Yarkhand. Consequently it was significant to control this area and the mountain passes into it. *Antiquities* I, p. 216.

[66] "Salhi Fountain Insp. of Rajanaka Ludra-Pala of the 27th year of Lalita Varman," *Antiquities*, I, no. 33, pp. 216–24.

[67] *Antiquities* I, p. 222.

at Kīragrāma.[68] Obviously, the collection must have been sizeable if it was to warrant such a grant. Needless to observe, the proceeds from the 'custom-house' were significant for the revenue collection of the state,[69] in a predominantly cash-starved pastoral-agrarian economy.

In the context of agrarian productivity, control over the Churah area was essential, particularly the Loh-Ṭikirī parganā, where horse-gram along with peas and wheat were cultivated in considerable quantity.[70] Later evidence suggests that numerous forest products which were indigenous to Churah and Pāngī were in demand and could be exported to the advantage of Chambā. These included incense (*Jurenea macrocephela*), honey, bees-wax, walnuts (*Juglans regia*), rapeseed, quine-seed, *til*-sesame (*Sesamum indicum*), *phullān* (*Fagopyrum emarginatum*), *śiūl* (*Amaranthus anardana*), *banafśā*-violets (*Viola odorata*), cumin, poppy-seeds, coriander, dried apricots, *ḍoḍḍā*-soapnuts (*Sapindus mukorossi*), hazelnuts and *cīlgozah* (edible Pine-seeds).[71] These were valuable exports that added to the revenue of the Chambā state.

Though Chambā rooted its hegemony over the peripheral areas, Pāngī and Churah, there was a discernible shift in the cultural constituency, reflected in the primacy given to Vaiṣṇava motifs in the spatial organisation of fountain stones. Though the Pāngī inscriptions proclaim Śaivite faith, unlike Churah, the Salhī fountain stone is a significant departure. Varuṇa is relegated to the outer panel as a guardian of the western

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[68] Second inscription, p. 30. For other grants, G. Buhler, "The Two Praśastis of Baijnāth," *Epigraphia Indica*, I, Calcutta, 1892, pp. 97–118; also, Mahesh Sharma, *The Realm of Faith*, Appendix II, for related developments.

[69] Ajay Mitra Shastri contends that the early Chambā currency was *dramma*, as also in Baijnāth. However, from the mid sixteenth century, the coins of the Mughals were in circulation in Chambā. The recent most *cākḷī* were the copper coins issued by Rājā Charhat Singh (1808–44 CE); by the rebel Lakhar Shah of Baśolī (1844); and Rājā Śrī Singh (1844–70 CE), "Currency System of Chamba," in *A Western Himalayan Kingdom*, pp. 81–89. There is, however, inscriptional reference to the usage of currencies such as *drammas* for Chambā and Kāngrā in 1200s, as in Baijnāth *praśastī* or Luj Fountain Inscription of Jāsaṭa, and *Rupiah*, as a circulating currency in Chambā, for instance in the 1440s grant of Bhaotavarman, IHHPPKAHT, Inscription nos. 43, 69 & 79, pp. 224–5, 270–1, 307; *Antiquities*, I, p. 205; According to Vogel, "the only coin special to Chambā is the *cākḷī*, five of which makes an *ānnā*, and it has been in use in all likelihood from ancient times. On it the Sāhilla Varman caused to strike a pierced ear, the symbol of a yogi, in honour of Charpaṭnāth, and this has been continued to the present day (1933). The later Rājās added the *Viṣṇu-pāda*, or the feet of Viṣṇu, on their coins," J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, I, Lahore, 1933, p. 286. Later on, after 1863, the currency of British Indian denomination was in circulation in Chambā, as Rupee, Ānnā and Paisā.

[70] "Mangaloa Plate of Partapsimha, Sastra 58," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 25, p. 73.

[71] *Pinus gerardiana*; CDG, 1904, p. 243.

quarter, along with Īśāna and Indra, all inscribed as *Lokapālas*—the protectors of their respective realms. The centrality is given to Vaiṣṇava cosmogony, Viṣṇu on *Śeṣa-sāyī* (inscribed so) with Bhū-Devī (Lakṣmī?) fanning 'whisk' (*cāmara*) at his feet. Local river goddesses accompany the traditional Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī, flanking the Yogic Viṣṇu. The major rivers irrigating Chambā, Kashmir and Panjāb were elevated to the status of sacred Gangā and Yamunā and provided with particular iconography. These river goddesses are identified from accompanying inscriptions—a pointer that such a classification was a rarity—as *Sindhū* (Indus), *Veṭhī* (*Vitastā* or Jhelum), *Bīā* (Beās) and *Śatuldhārā* (*Śatūdharī* or Sutlej).[72] The other two, not inscribed, are understood as representing *Candrabhagā* or Chenāb and *Irāvatī* or Rāvī, the two prominent rivers flowing in the territorial Chambā state. By such appropriations, the local geography was linked to and co-opted to the Indian sub-continental cosmology, thereby creating a microcosmic sacred territory mirroring the macrocosmic universal sacred geography.[73] It may, however, be pointed out that the iconic representation of these rivers as goddesses was first attempted and systematised by the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* of Kashmiri provenance. This *sthal* or regional *Purāṇa* was written around the eighth-ninth century and extols the glory of river *Vitastā* (Jhelum) while explicating the process of the formation of pilgrim centres (*tīrthas*) on the banks of major local rivers.[74]

The process of creating consent-to Chambā's rule in Churah and later in Pāngī was undertaken by Brāhmaṇas sporadically settled in villages, not as a corporate clan/hamlet settlement as in *brahmadeya* villages in south India or Nirmanḍ *agrahāra* in Kullu, but as an individual *śāsana*.[75]

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[72] There is a scheme of *vāhana* or vehicles attached to each of the river goddess, perhaps reflecting the predominant animal life in its water or hinterland. Thus, river Sindhū is characterised by snakes, Jhelum by fish, or Beās by what looks like a Hippocamp etc. Vogel, *Antiquities* I, p. 220.

[73] Such attempts of linkages and creating networks to construct parallel sacred geography were evident elsewhere also in the hills, particularly in Kāngrā. Such creation of sacred space has been formulated in, Mahesh Sharma, *The Realm of Faith*, pp. 145–70, and particular phenomenon in "Concentric Rings of Pilgrimage: Local, Regional, and Sub-continental Linkages," *Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences*, II (1), 1995.

[74] Ved Kumari, *The Nilamata Purana*, Delhi, 1976, vs. 159–65, pp. 42–43, also her, *The Nīlamata Purāṇa: A Cultural and Literary Study of a Kashmiri Purāṇa*, Srinagar-Jammu, 1968, pp. 28, 31, 76; Mahesh Sharma, "Puranic Texts From Kashmir: Vitastā And River Ceremonials In The Nīlamata Purāṇa," *South Asia Research*, 28, II, 2008, pp. 123–45.

[75] G. C. Chauhan, "Traces of Feudalism as seen in the Nirmand Copper-Plate Inscription of C 612–13 CE," *Annals BORI*, LXVII (1996), 1997, pp. 241–46. Francke mentions that in 1910 this was the settlement of three castes, the Brāhmaṇas, who always dressed

The emphasis on erecting fountain-stones is a fair testimony, though not even a singular land grant has been recovered from these regions. However, through this medium, religious and political statements and allegiances were made. There is a clear divide between the *Rājānaka* or local chieftains and brahmanic fountain-stones, the former asserting independence and or dependence on Chambā;[76] the Brāhmaṇas mostly aligning with the Chambā rulers, particularly between 1050–1250 CE. The analysis of 23 such fountain-stone epigraphs validates such an assertion.

Of the 23 non-grant inscriptions, after the Thundunu grant of Āsaṭa, 20 were recovered from Churah-Pāngī. Of these 23 inscriptions, six were issued by Rājpūt chieftains, one royal, five by village communities (two, in association with Brāhmaṇas) and 11 by Brāhmaṇas. Of the six Rājpūt inscriptions, two were clearly allied to Chambā, one asserted independence, the allegiance of one is unclear and the fealty of the remaining two ambiguous—vacillating between autonomy and allegiance to Chambā. Of the exclusively Brāhmaṇa epigraphs, only three cases are dubious, the rest claiming allegiance to Chambā, while all the five community epigraphs swear by Chambā. Of the 20 Churah-Pāngī fountain epigraphs, 13 are devoted to Varuṇa with 4 in conjunction with the local deity/Devī/Gaṇeśa; one is devoted to the local deity elevated to Śiva; two are clearly Śaiva and four emphatically Vaiṣṇava.[77]

The significance of Churah and Pāngī along with the Bhaṭṭiyāt peripheral area to the core area of Chambā state may be inferred from Table 1.1, demonstrating the relationship between irrigation, land use, assessed revenue for major crop types and population (see Map 1.3). The table is at best illustrative, compiled on the data available after the first regular settlement in 1951–58.[78] The presumption is to facilitate a comprehensive appreciation of the terrain with reference to productivity, by projecting the figures into the thirteenth century Chambā.

in white, the Kohlīs and the goldsmiths, A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, Archaeological Survey of India, XXXVII, Delhi, 1975 (rep), p. 45.

[76] Even at a later stage, late twelfth century, the chieftains at the periphery continued to assert their independence or supported either the Kashmiri or Chambā states. As for instance in, "Mul Kihar Fountain Insp.," *Antiquities* I, no. 34, pp. 224–32; as well as, "Sai Fountain Insp. of the reign of Ajaya Pala," *Antiquities* I, no. 35, pp. 232–37.

[77] Vogel, *Antiquities*, I, pp. 200–51.

[78] T. S. Negi, Settlement Report of the Chambā District (First Regular Settlement 1951–58), Simla, 1961, Appendix V, p. 55.

Table 1.1 Statement showing regional acreage, population, land-use and land revenue in Chambā

No. Wazārat[1] (Total Area) (acres)	Population	Total Area (acres)[2] Cultivated Irrigated	Non-irrigated[4]	Uncultivated (acres)	Assessed Kharif	Crop Area Rabi	Land Revenue[3] (Rs.)
1. Bhaṭṭiyāt	11,212	5,912	17,939	137,522	21,391	16,263	93,393
(1, 61, 373)		(3.66%)	(11.11%)	(85.21%)			(23,348)
2. Chambā	59,987	1,425	30,589	269,603	26,820	18,615	103,271
(3, 01,617)		(0.47%)	(10.14%)	(89.38%)			(25,818)
3. Churah	51,137	315	27,521	373,512	21,417	15,456	108,188
(4, 01,348)		(0.07%)	(6.85%)	(93.06%)			(27,047)
4. Bhramaur	23,413	15	10,925	407,994	7,223	6,036	16,230
(4, 18,919)		(0.003%)	(2.60%)	(97.39%)			(4,057)
5. Pāngī	10,835	3,141	2,649	834,373	3,376	3,279	13,251
(8, 40,163)		(0.37%)	(0.31%)	(99.31%)			(3,313)
Total	1, 86,588	10,808	89,608	2,023,004	80,227	59,649	334,333
(2,123,420)		(0.50%)	(4.21%)	(95.27%)			(83,583)

Notes: 1. After the independence of India and the merger of Chambā state in the union, these five wazārats were designated as *tehsīls* and sub-*tehsīls*.
2. Percentage of each category in relation to the total area has been shown in brackets.
3. Cess over and above the basic land revenue has been shown in brackets.
4. Rain fed or dependent upon rain.
Source: T. S. Negi, *Settlement Report of the Chamba District (First Regular Settlement 1951–58)*, Shimla, 1961, Appendix V, p. 55.

It must be pointed out that of the total area in the state of Chambā, only 4.73 per cent was under cultivation (see Map 3). It is in this context of meagre cultivable land that the typology of area and productivity acquires added significance, reflected in the dichotomy of irrigated and rain-fed cultivation. The regional (*Wazārat*-wise) percentage distribution of irrigated land to the total cultivable land presents an interesting spectacle, and explains why a particular area was vigorously contested—devising cultural hegemony to create and assert political control. Thus, Bhaṭṭiyāt had 24.8 per cent of the total cultivated area as irrigated area, while Chambā had 4.4 per cent, Churah 1.13 per cent, Bhramaur 0.01 per cent and Pāngī 54.2 per cent irrigated area of the total cultivated area. In terms of total area: cultivated area ratio, however, Bhaṭṭiyāt had approximately 15 per cent, Chambā 11 per cent, Churah seven per cent, Bhramaur three per cent and Pāngī about a per cent. It must, however, be understood that uncultivated land does not necessarily mean non-productive, as a large chunk of 95 per cent of land not under agricultural operation was either forested or constituted grassland, pastures and meadows, which aided shepherding and cattle rearing, particularly in Churah, Pāngī and Bhramaur (see Map 1.3).

Cultural Symbol of the Integrated State

After the demise of Jāsaṭa, Chambā entered a critical stage in which the process of state formation was completed—with the integration of Churah, Pāngī and Bhaṭṭiyāt—both territorially and culturally (see Map 1.2). Theoretically, the phase between the 13th and 16th century may be understood in terms of the processural model of the integrative state,[79] revolving around the symbol of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and the forging of Chambiyāḷī nationalism focused around royalty with its nucleus in Chambā. Vigorous land grant donations, upholding and controlling the brahmanical social order, a renewed process of temple erection and, finally, forging a capacious genealogy-*vaṁśāvalī* characterise this phase.

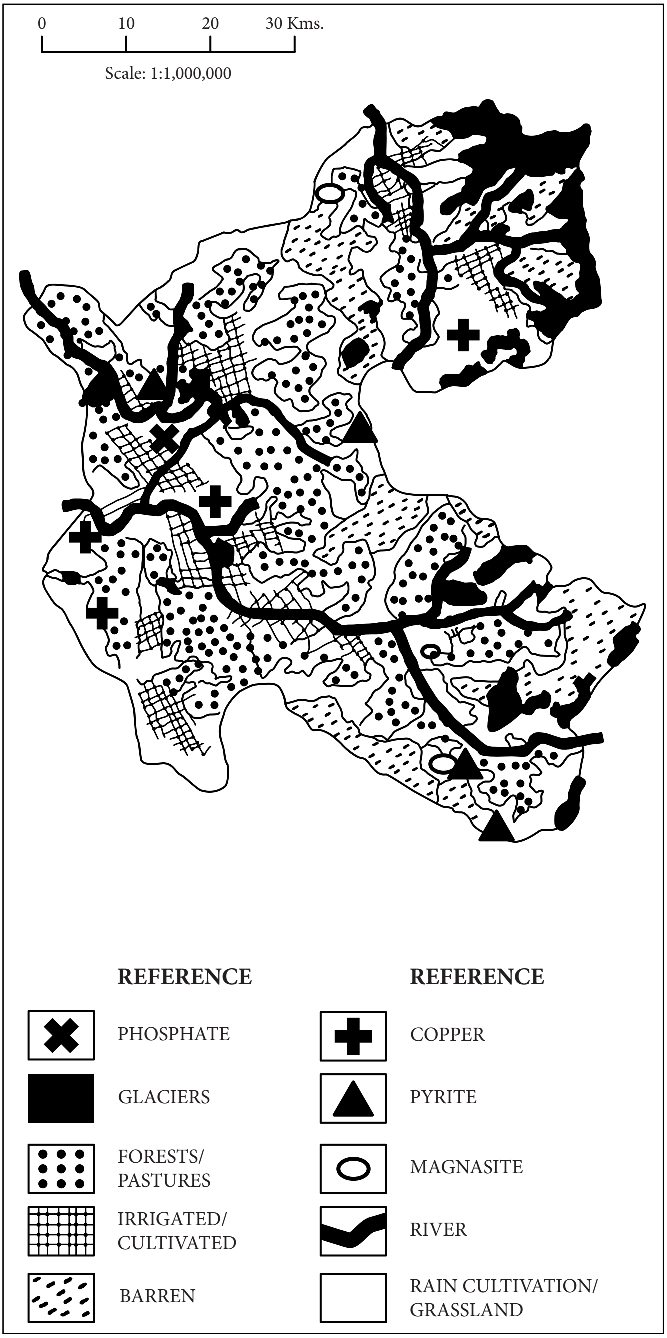
The early kings of this stage, representing post-Kashmiri influence, as in the case of Vairīśiva Varman and Bhoṭa Varman, asserted all-conquering status by appropriating grand titles such as *Cakravartī Śrī Parmabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhrāja Śrī*.[80] In this phase, land grants were issued throughout the territorial state, particularly after 1330 CE. These grants are characteristically dated both in the *Śāstra* era and the *Vikramī Samvat*.[81] Occasionally, the *Śaka* era was also used, thereby making the charters chronologically precise, unlike earlier epigraphs.[82] This phase is also marked by bilingual grants. The eulogy part of the grant, consisting of titles and name of donee, mostly Brāhmaṇas and temples, was in Sanskrit language while the effective grant was in *bhāṣā* or vernacular—

[79] The processural and integrative models chart the evolution of the state apparatus, which expands horizontally from its central dynastic nucleus, dependant upon 'state society', allowing structural changes in continuum even against fragmentation. It is characterised by the transformation of "pre state polities into state politics and thus the integration of local polities into structures that transcended the bounds of local polities." The integrative model explores the penetration of the "royal will into local arenas of power" through extension of agrarian society and 'peasantisation' of tribal groups, expansion of caste society, improved trading networks and by establishing centralised administrative functions. B. D. Chattopadhyaya, "Political Process and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India: Problems of Perspective," Presidential address, Ancient Indian Section, Indian History Congress, 1983; H. Kulke, ed., *The state in India: 1000–1700*, Delhi, 1997.

[80] Plates 1, 2, 3, *Antiquities* II, pp. 21–8.

[81] "Guroli Plate of Vairasivarman VS 1387," is the first such dated charter. Śastra Samvat was also used simultaneously, *Antiquities* II, p. 21.

[82] Occasionally, the Śaka era was also used along with or to the exclusion of either the Vikramī or Śastra eras, "Bakan Plate of Samgrama Varman," *Antiquities* II, no. 6, p. 32.



Map 1.5 Chambā: Land Use and the Resources

complete with boundaries, resources and tax liability—in Chambiyāḷī language and Ṭākarī script. The local language aided comprehension of the fiscal arrangement that was intelligible both to the tillers, who were effected by the deed-charter, and the local officials, who were responsible for the execution of the deed. The state, however, consciously used the language of Chambā, the nucleus of the state, to force the peripheries to accept linguistic hegemony, a tool used to assert a subtle political and cultural domination. Chambiyāḷī thus was used as a unifying factor and a sense of Chambiyāḷī dominance and nationalism was consciously enforced, particularly in the wazārat of Churah, Pāngī and Bhaṭṭiyāt. Nevertheless, the graded cultural influence of Kashmir continued, such that the Ṭākarī script itself developed from Śāradā characters (for details of the development of the Ṭākarī script, Chapter 3), where bilingual charters were henceforth issued in Persian and Sanskrit languages in Persio-Arabic and Śāradā scripts respectively.[83]

There are, however, some exceptions to the bilingual grants. The grants made exclusively to Brāhmaṇas from pan-Indian sacred centres, as Harīdvāra, were entirely in Sanskrit. For instance, Gaṇeśa Varman recorded the gifts offered to the shrine of Badrīnāth and the land grant made at Kaidāranāth on the occasion of *Kumbha* (bathing on the banks of river Gangā at the time when Jupiter enters the constellation *Kumbha*-Aquarius)[84] exclusively in Sanskrit.[85] In comparison, the grants made to the 'popular' deities like Maṇimaheśa, or service grants made to the local people, were exclusively in Ṭākarī script and Chambiyāḷī language. These grants formulate the extent of acculturation, whereby local symbols of faith were universalised-sanskritised, and reordered in a definitive sanskritic sectarian hierarchy. For instance, the first allusion to Maṇimaheśa was made in the fifteenth century Bhoṭa Varman grant.[86] However, the 1618 Hadsar plate of Balabhadra, made to start a *sadā-vrata* (literally, undertaking a 'perennial-vow' of service) for the deity, refers to Mahā-Rudra-Maṇimaheśa. It refers to the deity of the

[83] B. K. Kaul Deambi, *Corpus of Sarada Inscriptions of Kashmir: With Special Reference to Origin and Development of Sarada Script*, Delhi, 1982, Inscription no. 11, p. 128.

[84] Subas Rai, *Kumbha Mela: History and Religion; Astronomy and Cosmology*, Varanasi, 1993, pp. 19–22; D. P. Dubey, *Prayāga: The Site of Kumbha Melā*, Delhi, 2001, pp. 125–32.

[85] "Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Temple Plate of Gaṇeśa Varman's Time," *Antiquities* II, Inscription No. 14, pp. 48–50.

[86] "Bhot Varman Grant of VS 1507," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 4, pp. 28–30.

ḍaḷa-lake, a local purification ritual that became associated with Śiva.[87] How the annual bathing ritual got associated with Maṇimaheśa, which in turn was transformed into Mahā-Rudra of Bhramaur is significant to understand the cultural complex obtained in the area. Perhaps the state explored and encouraged the sacred space around the symbol of Maṇimaheśa, and the 'faith' obtained in the peripheral areas rallied around this symbol (more in Chapter 2).

From the administrative point of view, the charters reflect the awareness of the state to the changing terminology in the north-Indian polity. The progressive usage of Persian words in the landed charters reflects the attitude of the state that responded to and imbibed the larger model. Thus *jāmā, khijmat* (*khidmat*), *bakśaṇā, hājar* (*hāzir*), etc., were used in the *bhāṣā* or vernacular portion of the grant. Administratively, the term *manḍala* gave way to wazārat, which was further divided into parganās; in the seventeenth century *pañcāyata* was the basic administrative unit;[88] Amīns, Kotwāls, Kāradārs, Wazīrs, etc., were the new officials.[89] These changes are evident in other parts of the western Himalayas as well, the polity either adopting or adapting to such institutions. For instance in Kullu, Rājā Bahādur Singh, who was ruling over a considerable territory in 1559, manipulated the title of "*Suratraṇa*" or Sultān-Rājā to reflect ascendance.[90] As Chattopadhayaya has pointed out, such titles were also used in the early medieval Mālwā,[91] as they were used in the Kashmiri Śāradā inscription of "*Svatraṇa*" Muhammad Shah in 1484 CE.[92]

Unlike earlier phases, the state issued land grants periodically, even in peripheral regions. The chiefdoms were assimilated into the state process and some into the emerging bureaucracy. The land grants were, however, not tax-free, since the state could not sustain them due to the

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[87] "Hadsar Plate of Balabhadra VS 1675," "Bhot Varman Grant of VS 1507," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 49, pp. 112–13.

[88] "Sai Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities* II, no. 67, pp. 142–43.

[89] The terms are employed in the Bhāṣā or vernacular portion. "Bhota Varman Grant of VS 1507," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 4, pp. 28–29; "Jungrar Plate of Bhot Varman," Inscription no. 5, pp. 30–32; "Chambā Plate of Pratap Simha's Time," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 23, pp. 63–70; "Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Temple Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 31, pp. 83–85.

[90] J. Ph. Vogel, "A Copper Plate Grant of Bahadur Singh of Kullu," in *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report, 1903–04*, pp. 261–69.

[91] B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other?*, p. 45.

[92] "Hariparbat (Srinagar) grave stone inscription of the rein of Muhammad Shah, year 60: 1484 CE," Deambi, *Corpus of Sarada Inscriptions of Kashmir*, Inscription no. 11, pp. 129–30.

Table 1.2 The type of area under various land grants in the Chambā state

Name of Wazārat	jāgīrs (acres)			Muāfī (acres)		
	Kuhli (wet)	*Utar* (dry)	Total	*Kuhli* (wet)	*Utar* (dry)	Total
Chambā	28	1850	1878	440	4443	4883
Churah	9½	1157½	1167	22	964	986
Pāngī	—	791½	791½	—	189	169
Bhramaur	—	1008	1008	01	158½	159½
Bhaṭṭiyāt	47½	53½	101	855	1233½	2088½
Total	85	4860½	4945½	1318	6968	8286

Source: Chambā District Gazetteer, 1904, p. 282.

paucity of arable land. The following table (1.2) provides an estimate of the cultivable acreage, both irrigated and rain-dependent, granted by the state to temples or individuals. The data reflects the land-productivity consciousness of the state, which has a bearing on its tax-base, and perhaps explains the inclination to and incidence of taxation. This is evident from the regional typology of land (based, however, on the compilation affected in 1904), endowed by rent-free grants or *muāfīs*—where tax was largely, though not absolutely, alienated—and to service tenures or *jāgīrs*—which contributed to various taxes.[93]

Land alienation by such endowments, even if we were to consider them absolute, was marginal—about 13%—if seen in relation to the total cultivated land as in Table 1.1. Regional variations, however, suggest a different trajectory, emphasizing the temple-cultural enterprise, particularly if the irrigated, rain-fed land ratio (as in Table 1.1) is kept in mind. Thus, of the total cultivated land in Chambā, 21% was endowed, as also 7.7% in Churah, 16% in Pāngī, 11% in Bhramaur and nine per cent in Bhaṭṭiyāt. Furthermore, out of the total endowment, 32% of the prime or irrigated land was endowed in Chambā as against 10% in Churah and 15% in Bhaṭṭiyāt. The high rate of prime land endowed in Chambā explains the vigorous temple building activity undertaken in the capital, which accounts for 94% of the prime land endowments and 72% of the total endowments made in the municipal limits of the Chambā town. Grants to such temples, moreover, were made particu-

[93] CDG 1904, p. 282.

larly in the fertile Bhaṭṭiyāt area, accounting for 94 per cent share in prime land and 95 per cent in the total endowments made in Bhaṭṭiyāt. In comparison, service tenures, constituting primarily of rain-fed or dry land, were made mostly in Churah, Bhramaur and Pāngī.

Tax liability was, however, fixed in the grants and there are instances of resumption of land grants.[94] Even the rent-free or *hastodaka* land grants did not always alienate taxes to the state. For instance, the land charter of 1541–42 CE[95] refers to tax paid by the landholder to whom *hastodaka* or rent-free grant had been made. This is also evident from the 1599 CE grant issued by Balabhadra to a Brāhmaṇa, who paid the tax in kind, *mangaṇī-ānnā*, to the tune of one *peḍā* for each of the two crops in a year or two *pīḍās* of grain in a year. Similarly, the recipients of another grant issued by Balabhadra in 1593 CE paid seven *pīḍās* annually as *mangaṇī* tax to the state.[96]

There were specific taxes such as *kara, mangaṇī, bāch* and *kunt* to be paid by the donee.[97] The state maximised the incidence of taxation in multifarious ways. Using the landed property (tilling, grazing, etc.), even when covered by provisions made in the grant, amounted to tax for usage.[98] For instance, according to the 1641 CE grant, people provided donations and a protection fee (*dūṇa dāthar*) as well as: "a ram is to be given as dues (for grazing sheep and cattle) on the Gadhā

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[94] Resumption of grant was not exclusive to Chambā, but was resorted to whenever the state desired to maximise its revenue or minimise its obligations. For instance in Kashmir, the grant, though presumably hereditary or given to the temples "in-perpetuity," could be resumed or re-assigned or compensated with cash or another grant dependant upon the needs of the state. This is interesting as the temporality of the state was asserted over the sacred affairs, thus emphasising the dependence of the priests and the shrines over the state, their patrons. We have already noted such instances in Kashmir, particularly during the reign of Samkara Varman in the ninth century, *Rājataranginị̄* V: 170, 171. The practice of the king expropriating the land donated earlier to the temples was carried over to the times of Ḍogarās in Jammu and Kashmir, as late as the 18th and 19th centuries. For instance, Mahārājā Gulāb Singh "soon after taking possession of Kashmir" resumed almost "all the jāgīrs granted during Mughal, Pathan and Sikh times, and allotted in their stead fixed bounties, of considerably reduced value, from a consolidated fund since known as *Dharmārtha*," Personal observation of Stein, Ibid., V: fn. 170, p. 209.

[95] *Antiquities* II, no. 13, pp. 47–8.

[96] "Sakala Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities* II, no. 40, pp. 99–100; "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities* II, no. 34, pp. 89–90.

[97] In the *bhāṣā* portion, which is not translated. "Sei Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 67, p. 143.

[98] How ecology and administrative needs forced the pre-modern state to find alternative tax base, resources, etc., and the response of village/local communities is best illustrated by Chetan Singh, *Natural Premises*, pp. 91–116.

Dhār (the name of a pasture) donated to it."[99] However, earlier grants clearly state that the recipients could manage the land granted to them as they liked. They could till in person, or "cause to be tilled, enjoy (the produce) and cause other to enjoy. They may act according to their wishes. None should cause an obstruction."[100]

The category of tax exemption, perhaps in *hastodaka* grants, was the land-rent and revenue payable to the state. Local taxes such as *bāch, deśa-rīta* and *mangaṇī* were however payable in such cases also. In order to minimise the revenue loss that the state incurred by alienating rent free grants, the state carved 'special' and customary taxes from such rent free grants, which in turn were paid to other religious institutions, individuals, etc.[101] In other words, there was a 'grant' subtly seated within the body of the original grant and in this way the state maintained small shrines of local importance without further alienating the already depleted revenue. The 'special' tax thus seated within the body of the rent free grant was, in fact, an 'endowment' grant for another institution. In certain cases, moreover, not only was fixed revenue paid to the king, but also certain products—like particular trees or wood, forests—were reserved, even if they were located within the expanse of the grant.[102] Thus, according to "Jungrar Plate of Bhoṭavarman," the king "who is constantly engaged in the worship of gods and Brāhmaṇas," while donating land in Churah or Caturāha *manḍala* to one Vādī Brāhmaṇa, extricated a personal tax comprising of "four pieces of elephant rugs (?) and three *Śāghas*" (a bird).[103] However, certain exceptions were also made. Brāhmaṇas were exempted from personal service, forced labour, *dāna* or donation, and tolls and dues for grazing on hills.[104]

Stringent fines, payable in gold-*mohurs*, were imposed for violating the grant provisions.[105] The economy was further controlled: the ruler exercising his rights over trees, pastures, forests, mines, stone-quarries; water-channels for both irrigation and setting up water-mills (*gharāṭa*);

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[99] "Mindhal Plate of Prithvi Simha," *Antiquities*, II, no. 70, p. 149.

[100] IHHPPKAHT, Inscription no. 75, pp. 290–3.

[101] "Sei Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities* II, no. 67, pp. 142–43.

[102] Ibid., no. 30, pp. 82–84. Though the entire village was granted and it is classified as *hastodaka*, there is a separate note stating that "as regards the taxes in cash and in kind, the king is to receive four *pīṭakas* of grains and two *tankās*" annually. There is a second note that "all the trees and plants and the klim wood are reserved to the king".

[103] IHHPPKAHT, Inscription no. 68, p. 270.

[104] "Guroli Plate of Vairasivarman VS 1387," *Antiquities* II, pp. 21–3.

[105] "Chambā Plate of Pratap Simha's Time," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 23, pp. 63–70.

even regulating merchandise by controlling the right to run a provision-store (*hāṭa*); by levying tolls, custom dues and securing the strategic passes over-looking the trade routes.[106]

The state continued to bind its linkages with the wider Indian cosmos by 'importing' ritual experts, primarily from sacred-centres. Ostensibly, these Brāhmaṇas received land grants for conducting *tri-Sandhyā* rites and six-fold duties (*ṣaṭa-karmārtaya*),[107] a marker of ritual propriety and spirituality. Fresh ritual experts from Bengal (*Gaur deśa*), Banaras and Gayā were invited, who played a major role in Chambā polity and in the compilation of the royal genealogy. Even a south Indian Draviḍa (*Tra-vidyā*) Brāhmaṇa was invited and endowed.[108] Such 'imports' were common to all the hill-states, such as Kāngrā, which were keen to appropriate the sacred realm of 'piety' and 'ritual' to construct the legitimising tools of sanskritic kingship.[109] However, such an 'introduction' also questioned the status and ritual or textual proficiency of the 'resident' Brāhmaṇas. They too resented their marginalisation by these 'imported' ritual-textual experts, who appropriated the fiercely contested political space in the royal court and were elevated to exalted

[106] "Spurious Sai Copper Plate Insp. of Vidigdha Varman," *Antiquities* I, no. 16, p. 171; "Samgrama Varman's grant to Baḍu Leghā," *Antiquities*, II, no. 7, p. 36; "Chambā Plate of Pratap Simha," *Antiquities* II, p. 59; "Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Temple Plate of Pratap Simha," *Antiquities* II, pp. 60–61; "Chambā Plate of Pratap Simha's Time," *Antiquities* II, p. 67; "Jungal Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities* II, p. 82; "Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Temple Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities* II, p. 85; "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities* II, p. 116; "Mindhal Plate of Prithvi Simha," p. 149; IHHPPKAHT, Inscription nos. 79 & 80, pp. 298–317. A land grant issued by Rājā Balabhadra to Mārkanḍaya Śramaṇa in Jasorā *manḍala*, makes a provision of land with 'water' (provides for irrigation) along with rights to operate a water-mill (*gharāṭa*). It seems that such rights were exclusively controlled by the king. "Grant of Sri Balabhadra Varman, VS 1997," No. N, in Rita Sharma, *Ṭākarī*, part I, transliteration p. 35.

[107] *Tri-Sandhyā* duties consisted of morning, mid-day and evening prayers, i.e. at dawn, noon and dusk. The six fold duties incumbent upon a Brāhmaṇa were: learning, teaching, performing sacrifices (*yajña*), making others perform *yajña*, giving and accepting charities. "Chambā Plate of Pratap Simha's Time," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 23, pp. 65–70; fn. 67.

[108] "Chambā Plate of Pratap Simha's Time, VS. 1636," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 23, pp. 63–70; "Jvālāmukhi Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 50, pp. 113–15; "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 29, pp. 80–81; "Chambā Plate of Prithvi Simha, VS. 1701," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 71, pp. 150–51.

[109] The Kāngrā praśastī was composed by a Kāśī Brāhmaṇa. J. N. Agrawal, "The Kāngrā (Bhavan) Vajreśvarī Devi Temple Inscription of Jvālāmukhī Praśastī of the Reign of Samsar Chandra-I," IHHPPKAHT, no. 82, pp. 319–24.

positions, such as *Rāja-gurū*.[110] The old ritual/textual experts also vied for patronage, a share in limited and meagre resources, which was appropriated by the "fresh immigrants" at their expense. For instance, the family of Surānanda, the *Rāja-gurū*, possessed one property worth 13 gold *mohurs*; another consisting of 18 thousand copper *ṭaṇkās* worth of grain apart from seven gold *mohurs* in cash; besides land grants in other regions of the state, "movable articles," cattle, pasture land, orchards and forest land.[111] In contrast, the grants made to most of the locally settled Brāhmaṇas were not only paltry, but they were taxed as well. Therefore, there was resistance, for instance against the *Rāja-gurū* in the late sixteenth century particularly in the parganās of Bhaṭṭī and Pihura, in connivance with the courtiers who occupied the property of the *Rāja-gurū*. This could only be restored by the intervention of Balabhadra, the regent. The manner in which the state acted and punished the "rebels"[112] pronounces the symbiotic relationship between the textualists and kingship—the consecrator and consecrated; the legitimising and legitimised; the beneficiary and patron.

The state controlled Brāhmaṇas by reordering land grants and actively intervening in priestly succession or fashioning new priests, as it could ill afford inimical elements detrimental to its interest. The state could constrain and force its choice as it regulated and maintained the shrines/*dehrās* through land grants and annuities. For instance, according to the 1593 "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra," priesthood (*purohit* or *purohitya*) was conferred upon Baḍu Ratna. "The ceremony of conferment was, after the fashion of common ceremonial grants, preceded by a libation of water (*hastodaka*). The investiture was more in the nature of a donation;" the *purohit* inheriting all the "customary emoluments."[113] Similarly in the 1599 grant, priesthood was awarded to one Īśvara

[110] Textual legitimisation was now provided by the rite of consecration by the *Rāja-gurū*. Thus, the power nexus between the consecrated sovereign and Brāhmaṇas, the instruments of legitimation, gained ground, for instance, Brāhmaṇa Ramapati for Balabhadra. "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 27, pp. 75–8.

[111] "Chambā Plate of Pratap Simha's Time," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 23, pp. 66 and 69.

[112] The ministers were dismissed. They were also fined 300 gold *mohurs*, which were given to the family of the *Rāja-gurū*. His family was re-settled by Balabhadra himself, who also endowed them land in Pihura and Bhaṭṭī parganā once order was again established there, "Chambā Plate of Pratap Simha's Time, VS. 1636," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 23, pp. 63–70.

[113] *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 33, pp. 87–89.

Śramaṇa, son of Mādhava, of Atrī gotra.[114] Priestly influence, however, was also disciplined by defining and re-adjusting their territorial domain or hinterland (*vṛta* or *vratesarī*). For instance, Balabhadra partially resumed a land grant from a Brāhmaṇa and offered it along with a third of priestly rights (*nagorākhyagrāmatratīyāsa [trityāṅṣa] purohita vṛtiṃ ca*...), of donation and honorarium arising out of ritual performance, to another *purohit*-priest. A third share of the income arising out of priesthood was designated to yet another Brāhmaṇa.[115]

Along with Brāhmaṇa priests, ascetics of different shades were also patronised and their movement keenly observed within the state. In Chambā documents and inscriptions, much like other Panjāb hill-states, the epithet "*Gosāīn*" was used not only to Vaiṣṇava but also to address ascetic-*sanyāsīs* of various Śaivite sects—the *Nāth-panthīs, Śaṅkarites*, etc. They were also patronised by the state. For instance, according to the "Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Temple Plate of Śatrusiṁha," a piece of land, six *lahrīs*, was bestowed upon two *Śaṅkarite* ascetics, Balabhadra Girī and Bihārī Girī, residents of Girdhamṭā in the parganā of Samota in 1668 CE.[116] Subsequently, Nāth-Jogīs were also patronised with the provision of a 'seat' in Chambā along with a land grant and annual cash contribution for worshipping and maintaining the portal of Siddha Charpaṭnāth.[117]

As evident from the number of land grants made to Brāhmaṇas, their hegemony and consequently their control over the ideological sector was increasing. This is palpable from references, earlier unknown to such charters, to the cultural orientation and the streamlining of the *rite-de-passage*, pilgrimage and rituals of temple, home and hearth. Implicitly, such developments propound the mechanism of cultural dominance exerted over society, thereby increasing the stranglehold over the social—acculturating and sanskritising it. Most of the ceremonials introduced were Vaiṣṇava and calendric, and on every occasion accompanied by a land grant to a ritual expert. For instance, *Nirajala*

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[114] "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 38, pp. 95–7.

[115] "Nagoda Grant of Balabhadra," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 57, pp. 125–6.

[116] *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 77, pp. 159–60. CBSMC catalogues this as B-34 document, recording it as village Samota in Diur parganā, p. 11.

[117] Documents to this effect are in possession of the portal of Charpaṭ Nāth in Chambā. Also, the statement of *shajra-nasab* or the genealogical table, attached with the copy of succession to prove inheritance in the *misl-haqiyah* register of the revenue village, *mohal*, Chambā vide *Khātā* No. 892/*khataunī* no. 1323 in the process of the final settlement of Chambā in 1957.

fasting, i.e., desisting even from drinking water along with whole-grains and cereals, was observed on the occasion of *Ekādaśī* and the fast was terminated (*udyāpaṇa*) by making a gift to the Brāhmaṇa, comprising usually of a land grant.[118] Similar calendric celebrations and observance are increasingly referred to, particularly *Ekādaśī*,[119] *Akśaya Tritiyā*,[120] *Ananta Caturdaśi*,[121] *Makar Saṃkrāṅtī*,[122] *Caitra* and *Aśvina Navarātras* and *Aṣṭamī*,[123] and in the sixteenth century to *Duśaharā*.[124] Special significance was attached to observances like *Tulā-puruṣa*, where donation in cash (by the Rājā) or grains (by common people) was made—considered as one of the sixteen *mahā-dāna* or great donations.[125] The renditions of Puranic texts, such as *Harīvaṃṣa Purāṇa,* were organised,[126] and in the eighteenth century, even of *Caṇḍī-Saptaśata*.[127]

In the wider framework of the state as the 'cultural patron', the rulers were conspicuous in presenting themselves as participants in religious activities, particularly temple building. Not only was the temple complex such as that of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, etc., coming up in the capital town, there are also references to consecration ceremonies or *pratiṣṭhā* of shrines to Śiva, Badrī-Nārāyaṇa, etc., in other parts of the state.[128]

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118 *Antiquities*, I, Inscription no. 7, pp. 34–36.

119 "Chambā Plate of Anand Varman," *Antiquities*, I, Inscription no. 10, pp. 41–43, IHHPPKAHT, Inscription no. 75, pp. 291–3.

120 "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 27, pp. 75–8.

121 "Chambā Plate of Pratap Simha's Time, VS. 1636," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 23, pp. 63–70.

122 "Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Temple Plate of Pratapsimha, Sastra 51," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription nos. 21 and 22, pp. 59–63; also, CBSMC, B-17 and B-18, p. 9.

123 "Chambā Plate of Ganesh Varman," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 12, pp. 45–47.

124 "Mangarol Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 44, pp. 105–07.

125 "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra VS. 1651," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 35, pp. 90–2.

126 "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra; V. S. 1686," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 51, text, p. 116.

127 When Rājā Umed Singh left Chambā for Lahore, he engaged one priest to recite the invocation of the Goddess to ensure his safety. He made a special grant for this purpose, "as honorarium for the recitation of the *Caṇḍī* (i.e. *Durgā-saptaśatī*) by him". On his return, he rewarded the priest by making a fresh land grant, along with a "whole mansion" in the capital. "Chambā Plate of Umeda Simha," *Antiquities*, II, no. 78, pp. 161–2. The shrine was also constructed in 1754 at Devi-Kothi. For related development, see Eberhard Fischer, V. C. Ohri and Vijay Sharma, *The Temple of Devi-Kothi: Wall Paintings and Wooden Reliefs in a Himalayan Shrine of the Great Goddess in the Churah Region of the Chamba District, Himachal Pradesh*, INDIA, Zurich, Artibus Asiae Supplement, 43, 2003, pp. 14–15, 162–63.

128 "Chambā Plate of Pratap Simha's Time, VS. 1636," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 23, text, p. 66.

Undertaking pilgrimage was also a way of asserting 'piety', both within and outside the territory of the state. It also afforded ways of associating with the north Indian religious process. The influence of the *Bhaktī* tradition on Chambā arising out of such an association, both Kṛṣṇite and Rāmānandī, is a noteworthy example. Piety was largely asserted as a legitimising tool, expressed usually by undertaking a pilgrimage to *tīrtha* pilgrim-centres, ostensibly to seek salvation, hence proclaiming spiritual-merit. Such assertions were particularly made at times of stress. Thus, the contesting scions in the Kulaiṭ inscription referred to Sāhilla Varman's visit and patronage to ritualists at Kurukṣetra; Jāsaṭa undertook pilgrimage with other chieftains to Kurukṣetra and in the process forged an alliance. Pratap Singh undertook pilgrimage to Badrīnāth where he distributed jewels among the *pujārī*-temple-priests. At Kedāranāth, a land grant was made to a Brāhmaṇa after performing a penance as well as a purifying fast for six nights (*sadā-ratropositeṇa*).[129] Purification at such centres was the objective of pilgrimage, a prerequisite to piety and virtue. The dimensions of purification lay not only in fasts, or ritual bathing, but also in abdication. For instance, the local ruler of Baijnāth undertook a pilgrimage to Kedāranāth around 1204, and vowed not to co-habit "with the wives" of his subjects. The inscription compliments him that, "if nevertheless his heart avoids the wives of others, what austerity is difficult to perform after that?"[130]

In this period Harīdvāra and later Prayāg became the favoured destination and Gangā the foremost symbol of purity. Gaṇeśa Varman thus appropriated the role of purifier, as one "who has the globe of earth purified by the flowing Gangā."[131] Ganges, as a repository of mortal remains (*ast/u/ī* or bones and ash), however, gained currency by the mid-thirteenth century.[132] Subsequent rulers or princes made pilgrimages to purify self and family, particularly after death. Anirudha,

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[129] "Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Temple Plate of Ganesa Varman's Time," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 14, pp. 48–50.

[130] The inscription reads that after, "performing pilgrimage to Kedāra, that cleanses from old sin, made this vow: "Henceforth shall all wives of others be sisters to me"...if nevertheless his heart avoids the wives of others, what austerity is difficult to perform after that?" The inscription further recounts that ever since he "has avoided the blameable pressing of the bosoms of the wives of others." G. Buhler, "The Two Praśastīs of Baijnāth," Jas Burgess ed., *Epigraphia Indica*, Calcutta, 1892, pp. 110–11. Such instances can be multiplied.

[131] "Chamenu Plate of Ganesa Varman," *Antiquities*, II, no. 16, pp. 52–3.

[132] "Chambā Plate of Ganesa Varman," *Antiquities*, II, no. 12, pp. 45–7; "Chambā Plate of Pratap Simha," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 26, pp. 73–5.

for instance, made one such pilgrimage to Prayāg carrying the mortal remains of his mother.[133] Complete Puranic-funeral and post cremation rituals were observed by the funerary-priest (distinct from other ritualists and placed in the lowest strata within the brahmanic hierarchy. The funerary priest, *cāraja*, is shunned in the normal course by other *dvijas* as well). The funerary-priests, Baḍus in the case of Chambā royal house, were associated with a family and the relationship was hereditary and reciprocal (*jajmāni*). They took the mortal remains for immersion in the Ganges at Harīdvāra, as in the case of Bhoṭa Varman, Ananda Varman, etc. *Pinḍa-dāna* (offering rice balls to the manes) and *śrādha*[134] was performed at this time. *Śrādha* was performed to the departed after a year and again after four years (*śuddha śrādha*).[135]

The family funerary-priests (*cāraja*), who performed each of these rites, were granted land on such occasions, along with other movable assets. Later, *śrādha* was also performed at Prayāg and Gayā, and the *panḍā*-priests of these centres were granted land in Chambā.[136] Common people, however, performed such rites at home, where local rivers were ascribed the same purifying properties by prefixing or suffixing Gangā to the name of the local river. Similarly, there were counter centres to Gayā and Prayāg, as evident from a mid-nineteenth century Kāngrā manuscript.[137] Thus, cosmologies were appropriated and a parallel sacred space devised within the territorial state.

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[133] "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities* II, no. 42, pp. 102–03.

[134] Ceremony in the honour of the dead relatives observed at fixed periods by offering *tarpaṇa*-water libations and *pinḍa* or rice balls to the three immediate paternal and maternal forebears. This is not a funerary-rite (*antyéṣṭi*), but a post funeral supplementary ceremonial. It is a reverential homage to the dead

[135] "Mhesa Plate of Bhot Varman," Inscription no. 2, pp. 24–5; "Chambā Plate of Ganesa Varman," *Antiquities*, II, no. 12, pp. 45–7; "Chambā Plate of Pratap Simha," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 26, pp. 73–5; "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities* II, no. 42, pp. 102–03; "Chambā Plate of Prithvi Simha," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 71, pp. 150–51.

[136] These priests compiled genealogies of their clients, updated after every death on the occasion of immersion of bones in Gangā in these centre, like Harīdvāra, Prayāg, Gayā, Pehovā and for Chambā particularly at Mattan. For the functioning of these *panḍā*-priests, particularly at Haridvāra, see B. N. Goswamy, "The Records Kept by Priests at Centres of Pilgrimage as a Source of Social and Economic History," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, III (2) pp. 174–84.

[137] Mahesh Sharma, "Concentric Rings of Pilgrimage: Local, Regional and Subcontinental Linkages," *Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2 (I) 1995; also, "Dimensions of Pilgrimage: A Case Study of Jalandhara Pitha," in Joseph T. O'Connel, ed., *Organisational and Institutional Aspects of Indian Religious Movements*, Delhi, 1999.

The evolution of calendric ceremonials and 'social rituals' is indicative of the brahmanic influence and control over the cultural process in the Chambā society. The relationship between Brāhmaṇas, of all ranks, hierarchy and expertise (ritual experts, temple priests, funerary-priests, textualists, astronomers, etc.), and the state became much stronger in this period on a reciprocal basis. Brāhmaṇas provided legitimacy to the state process and were also the instruments of cultural diffusion to remote regions of the state, which in turn patronised them. Land grants to Brāhmaṇas thus played a significant part in entrenching the state firmly, and were an instrument through which these cultural agents operated.

The instrumentality of land grants is vital in understanding both acculturation as well as the process of building consent-to-rule. Through land grants the Brāhmaṇas accessed the local population (the tillers, artisans, and shepherds or cattlemen as in Churah and Bhramaur), which was economically subordinated and politically marginalised. The process of acculturation, sanskritisation, moved down the hierarchy through these professionals working on the "gifted land." Any dissent could result in eviction and replacement, as there were few charters upholding the tilling rights of particular agriculturists and artisans.[138] The acculturated agents helped in moving the process horizontally. Consequently, 'popular religion' was linked and ranked with the sanskritic by reordering popular myths, manipulating the structure of popular ritual and by sanskritising or accommodating 'popular priests' in the larger caste hierarchy.[139]

The role of Brāhmaṇas in every day life further made them vital to the local society as they controlled the ritual domain. They not only ordered the rituals connected with daily living (like controlling and counselling about sowing and harvesting times; the rituals connected with birthdays, marriage, etc.), but also controlled the after-life as well.

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[138] Thakur has used the temple inscriptions and copper plate grants, issued between 700–1400 AD, to study the "master craftsman," including metal workers, carpenters, architects, sculptors, and stone carvers. He concludes that these low caste (Śudras) artisans were not organised at a regional level, but moved from place to place in search of gainful occupation. They were generally paid in kind, as in the *jajmānī* system, though those attached to the "household of the king" were given special remuneration. The artisans sustained themselves "partly by agricultural output from the land and partly by professional earnings." L. S. Thakur, "Artisans in Himachal Pradesh circa CE 700–1400: A Study Based on Epigraphics," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 23 (3), 1986.

[139] Mahesh Sharma, *The Realm of Faith*, p. 158.

Their facility with the language of texts, that is Sanskrit, and their command over the texts, particularly those dealing with ritual, provided them the sacred authority. They, therefore, textually tried to build consent-to-rule by equating any form of dissent and protest against the ruler as a protest against the divine. Sanskritic texts could assimilate and subordinate the local proclivities to re-order the worldview. Therefore, wilful submission and acceptance of one's position in life-station was portrayed as virtuous, while challenge and dissent against the social-textual arrangement was portrayed as sinful. While divinity rewarded the virtuous, kings, as representatives of the sacred, whose foremost duty was to preserve 'Its' creativity and order, could repress the sinners in this life. The focus of the village also shifted from its 'popular deity' to the larger sanskritic 'deity' to which local faith was associated and subordinated. The Brāhmaṇa supplanted the local ritualists, whose role was in any case restricted.[140] Economic instrumentality was thus used to acculturate the 'popular' and entrench the sanskritic culture. Such proliferation of cultural hegemony entrenched the interests of the state that sustained and aided brahmanic dominance.[141]

By the end of the fourteenth century, the integrated state required a fresh symbol around which the process of territorial synthesises could rally. The copper plates now begin by invoking Vaiṣṇava deities, particularly Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇaprītiya*).[142] The association of Rāmarāmaṇa, Raghū, and Rāmacandra with "royal characters" increases in this phase[143]

[140] For marginalisation of local ritualists in 'popular shrines' while sanskritising them and widening their sphere of ritual dominance and hinterland; manipulation of myths and spatially distancing the low caste ritual experts as a tool for asserting dominance with the tacit help of the state, Mahesh Sharma, "Marginalisation and Appropriation: Jogīs, Brahmins and Sidh Shrines," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 33 (1) 1996.

[141] For economic instrumentality, of eviction and coercion, in asserting cultural dominance, see Mahesh Sharma, "Artisans and Monastic Credit in Early Twentieth Century Himachal," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 36 (II) 1999.

[142] The process at the periphery has been taken cognisance of as in "Devi-ri-Koṭhī Insps.," *Antiquities*, I, nos. 30–32, are "Nārāyaṇa Image Insp. of Rajanaka Naga-Pala," pp. 207–08; "Stone Insp. of Rana-Pala of the year 2," pp. 208–09; "Fountain Insp. of Rajanaka Naga-Pala of the 17th year of Lalita Varman," pp. 209–16. For core area, "Uham Plate of Ananda Varman," *Antiquities*, I, no. 9, pp. 40–41; "Mohdaya Grant of Ganesa Varman's Time," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 15, pp. 50–51. All subsequent inscriptions use *Kṛṣṇa-prītya* while making a grant, while Balabhadra uses *Kṛṣṇāye namaḥ*, "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities* II, no. 42, pp. 102–03.

[143] "Spurious Sara Plate of Bhot Varna," of Ganesa Varman's Time," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 3, pp. 27, 28; "Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Plate of Pratap Simha," *Antiquities*

and the donors usually characterise themselves as *parma-vaiṣṇava* and *parma-purūśottama*.[144] There is scant mention of the goddess and a passing reference to Śiva. Clearly, there is a re-ordering of theistic ethos in Chambā, influenced by the vibrant *Bhaktī*-devotional tradition that swept the Indo-Gangetic plains around this period. However, the integrative symbol was provided by Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa in Chambā. The historians of sculpture stylistically date the marble sculpture of Vaikunṭha in the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple to the tenth century, associating it with the Pratihāra style.[145] The dating is influenced by the tradition recounted in the *vaṁśāvalī,* which itself was compiled in the 16th and 17th centuries (it stops abruptly around 1645). The myth of the installation of the marble image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa created by the *vaṁśāvalī* suggests that Sāhilla sent nine of his sons to the Vindhyā to fetch a "large stone."[146]

II, Inscription no. 22, p. 62; "Chambā Plate of Ganesa Varman," *Antiquities*, II, no. 12, pp. 45–6; Ṭhakurdvārā was erected and land grant made to it, "Chambā Plate of Pratap Simha," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 20, pp. 58–9.

[144] The practice started with Vairasi Varman, "Guroli Plate of Vairasivarman VS 1387," *Antiquities* II, p. 22. Subsequently, it was used in inscriptions, as in "Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Plate of Pratap Simha," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 21, pp. 60–61; "Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Plate of Pratap Simha," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 22, p. 62–4.

[145] V. C. Ohri is the prominent exponent of this theory and dating. He, however, relies exclusively on the evidence of the royal *vaṁśāvalī* as translated by Vogel, *Antiquities* I, CDG, and *History of the Panjab Hill States*, to arrive at the tenth century dating. Ohri does not delineate stylistic development for arriving at this date, but uncritically accepts the dictum of *vaṁśāvalī*, even when he has access to landed charters. His arguments on local sculpting are however logical, though connections and diffusions are vaguely traced for this image as well as for sculpting activity in the region in general, *The Sculptures of the Western Himalayas*, pp. 93–4.

[146] *Preṣayāmāsa vindhyādānīyatāṁ mahatī śilā//73//*

Gatvā tairmahatī śubhrā śilānītātmanaiva hi/ Gurūṇokṛtaṁ śilā neyam Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇocitā//74//

Asyā udara aiko-asti bheko rājñā nirīkṣṇe/ Kṛte jāte tathānyāstu pratimaḥ Śaṅkarasya ca//75//

Devyā Gaṇapateścāpyekaca Devālye tu tāḥ/ Sthāpitāḥ svasutāḥ rājñā puneraiva tu preṣtāḥ//76//

Bhāvitvādevamevārthasyānīyānyām śilām pathi/ Sthitāstadā raṇe bhūyobhitār-hadasyubhiḥ sutāḥ//77//

Śrutvā nṛpeṇa tānhantum Yugākāro dhanurdharaḥ/ Preṣitoasau Mukuṭakoṭādārab hyāhanadripūn//78//…

Kārayitvā kṛtim Lakṣmīpateḥ sansthāpya cādarāt/ Sansthāpya ca Yugākāram Campāpuryā, nṛpo-apyagāt//80//

Saha Carpaṭinā Rājā tathaiva tapasi sthitaḥ/81a

Antiquities, I, pp. 86–87.

> They went and brought with them a large white stone, but the guru (Charpaṭnāth) said: "This is not suitable for [an image of] Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Inside it is a frog." When the king had examined it and it was so, he set up other images of Śaṅkara, Devī and Gaṇapati, all in the same temple and sent his sons again. As it was destined to happen, on the way his sons, when they were bringing the stone, were slain in battle by numerous robbers. When the king heard of this, he send Yugākāra the archer to slay them, and he (Yugākāra) slew the enemies from Mukuṭa-koṭa as far as.... he came hastily with the stone. Then, after he had caused an image of Lakṣmī's Lord to be made and set it up reverently, he installed Yugākāra [as his successor] in the town of Campā and went with Charpaṭi to devote himself to asceticism.

There are problems with the dating of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, both methodological and epigraphic.[147] The first epigraphic reference to Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa is the 1481 CE "Uham plate of Ananda Varman," where the

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[147] The *vaṁśāvalī* or the genealogy of the Rājās of Chambā refers to the building of a temple of *Kūrmeśvara* (the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu) by Sāhilla Varman. Sāhilla is also credited with building other temples here, which collectively came to be known as the shrine complex of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. *Antiquities* I, p. 76, tr. p. 93. However, there is no direct land record made to this temple prior to the fifteenth century. The first specific land grant record known to us is the "Chambā Copper Plate Inscription of Soma-Varman and Āsaṭa," in the Bhuri Singh Museum (catalogue no, B-5) belonging to the temples of Harī Rai and Caṃpāvatī. In this grant there are two unequal portions. One, consisting of half a *bhū*, was given to a Viṣṇu temple "founded by the illustrious Pāsaṭa[?]". Considering the smallness of the grant it was, perhaps, not a very important shrine. It has since disappeared. The remaining 14½ *bhū* of land were bestowed to the temple of Harī, founded by Lakṣmaṇa Varman and other to the unknown shrine of Śiva by queen Rardha. *Antiquities*, I, Inscription no. 25, pp. 187–97; CBSMC, B-5, p. 11.

J. N. Agrawal translates that 2 *bhūmakṣa* "are bestowed as an *agrahāra* upon Lord Viṣṇu installed here" (*śrī pāśtsyodeśeṇa pratiṣṭhāpita bhāgvadviṣṇave agrahāratve*. vs. 22). The recipient here is, perhaps, the same as what later came to be worshiped as Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, if we were to follow Agrawala's translation, "the lord Harī (Viṣṇu) who is renowned by the auspicious name of the illustrious Lakshmanvarman," IHHPPKAHT, Inscription no. 40, pp. 210, 215. However, at the later date, the grant of Harī Rai was shared by the goddess Caṃpāvatī. How a part of the donation was transferred and shared with another temple is not known to us. *Antiquities*, I, p. 192; also, D. N. Jha, "State Formation in Early Medieval Chamba," p. 129. Harī-Rai temple has evoked a great scholarly interest due to its *Vaikuntha* image and Kashmiri influence or origin. K. J. Khandalavala , "The Princess's Choice: Keynote Address," and R. N. Mishra, "The Vaikuntha Images from Chambā and other Centres in North Western India," both in *A Western Himalayan Kingdom*, pp. 1–4 and 111–21, respectively. The first clear epigraphic reference to Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa is the bi-lingual "Uham Grant of Anandavarman," issued in c. 1480–81 CE (Śastra 57, Śaka 1402). Referred to as "the supreme deity" (*sri parmadevatā Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa*), a tax free (*issa grāyen dā kara dā pā? śrī devṇe bagśī*) land grant was provided at Uham village in Mehlā parganā to a Brāhmaṇa of Śāṇḍilya *gotra* who was a professional astronomer, IHHPPKAHT, Inscription no. 74, pp. 287–9.

deity is referred to as the foremost (*parma-devatā*).[148] It is not conceivable that the foremost deity of Chambā does not find any mention, or its temple did not receive any grant, prior to the one made by Pratap Singh in 1582 CE.[149] While there is no earlier epigraphic evidence concerning the temple, half a dozen land grants were issued in the ensuing century. It may also be pointed out that marble was not the Pratihāra sculpture medium, rather Chauhāns started using it in the eleventh century, though there are few such early examples in the Panjāb.[150] Irrespective of the contention made in the *vaṁśāvalī,* marble was never quarried in the Vindhyā region. Moreover, as contented by the *vaṁśāvalī*, there is no provision for using a base medium ("marble with a frog in it") for any consecrated idol, whether Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa or other deities.[151] It must be remembered that the genealogical account is fallacious on many counts and does not deserve much credence, particularly when there is little corroboration by otherwise prolific copper-plate charters. As the temple was built in the 15–16th century, Thakur, predictably, discovered that its architectural plan markedly differs from early temples in Bhramaur or Chambā, such as Campāvatī and Harī Rai.[152]

The charter clearly states that the 'installation' (*pratiṣṭhā*)[153] ceremony was held at the portal (*dehrā*) of *Baḍḍe-Nārāyaṇa* or elder-Nārāyaṇa, with the king offering the main (consecration) *havana*. The charter also states that the shrine of the 'elder Nārāyaṇa' is in the courtyard (*beḍhe*) of Candragupta (line 8), which evidently was the primary deity preceding Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.[154] Such clarity was to obviate any doubts as to its location. The epithet "elder" was used to distinguish it from Harī-Rai Vaikunṭha, as the marble deity housed in the shrine was also a Vaikunṭha, sculpturally modelled on the former. Had the deity or the temple existed earlier, such specifications were not necessary. It may

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148 "Uham Plate of Ananda Varman," *Antiquities*, I, no. 9, pp. 40–41.

149 "Mangaloa Plate of Partapsimha, Sastra 58," *Antiquities* II, Inscription no. 25, pp. 72–3.

150 I am grateful to Prof. Devendra Handa, formerly of AIHCA, Panjab University, Chandigarh, for this information, as well as in resolving the sculptural details of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and Harī-Rai on which it seems to have been modelled upon.

151 *Antiquities* I, genealogy, text vs. 79–80, p. 87.

152 Laxman S. Thakur, "Analysis of the Plans of Nagara Temples in Chambā," in A *Western Himalayan Kingdom*, pp. 142–54.

153 *Pratiṣṭhā* is a rite to infuse a consecrated object with divine presence; specifically, the infusion of life (in itself a complex ritual involving different *mantras* for about twelve bodily organs), in an image. Thereafter, an image becomes a 'living' deity.

154 "Drabila Grant of Pratap Simha," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 24, pp. 70–2.

also be pointed out that the investiture of a deity and its consecration in a temple is done only once, while purification or propitiating rituals, including *havana*, may be performed later. The provisions made and the ritual followed in this case is an explicit declaration of the installation of the new image, rather than the "restoration", as has been suggested by Ohri and Vogel. Nowhere is the word "restoration", used by Vogel and Chhabra in their commentary and translations, used in the original. Moreover, in a shrine already housing a deity, the restored temple is 'purified' not consecrated.[155] In fact, the ritual rights to the image of Baṃsīgopala were provided for in the same charter, as also a provision was made for a certain ritual associated with Candragupta. In both cases there is no mention of the consecration ceremony. Baṃsīgopala is the popular childhood form of Kṛṣṇa, whose temple was built in the same complex and consecrated by Balabhadra in 1595. He granted a village to the same priest as a fee (*dachaṇā*) for performing the consecration ceremony.[156] Candragupta temple is the earliest shrine of Siva that is housed in the same complex. The reference about Candragupta, while mentioning the location of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, is therefore significant because it was well known place while the latter was being consecrated. The point being emphasised is that the scribe is aware of the subtle nuances involving the rituals of installation, consecration and restoration or purification, and uses the terminology discriminately and advisedly. As we shall argue in the last section, the *vaṁśāvalī* fabricates the account, in which the image plays a pivotal role, due to certain political considerations at the time of its compilation.

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[155] This is not as simple as it involves different rituals at different times, right from the time when the image is to be carved to the last act of etching the eyes; putting it on the pedestal; and finally investing it in the temple. For the rituals of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, as per the Pāñcarātra tradition, Sanjukta Gupta, tr., *Lakṣmī Tantra: A Pāñcarātra Text*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 321–334, particularly verses. 68–146.

The *Pāñcarātra* texts also make a provision for the rituals of restoration. "If any repair is to be attended to the *Garbhagṛha* (cella or the sanctum sanctorum), then the *beras* (the 'image') are to be kept in a *Bālālaya* (miniature temple or a makeshift temple) and worshipped till the repair is over. This act of renovation is called *Jirṇoddhāra*. After the repair is carried out *Samprokṣaṇa* (sprinkling of holy water), an elaborate rite to purify the entire complex is to be undertaken." V. Varadachary, *Pāñcarātrāgama*, Tirupati, 2001, p. 123. Surely, the epigraphs are clearly referring to the rites of installation and not the rites of restoration, by unequivocally using the word *Prathiṣṭhā* and then going on to make provisions for the ritual specialists and temple rituals.

[156] "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra; V. S. 1652," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 36, pp. 92–3.

The Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple was, however, erected on the highest point of the capital townscape, an unequivocal proclamation of the Vaiṣṇava dominance. It also re-fashioned the religious landscape vis-à-vis the growing habitation in the capital. From Harī-Rai to the portal of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, there is a vertical topographical motion—from the river-bed to the hill-top (see Map 2.1). Such a movement to the top defined the relation between the sovereign god and its earthly deputy, whom Rājā Balabhadra worshipped as: "*Śrī parma-devatā arcaṇiyā*" or the "propitiation of the foremost deity."[157]

When the *havana* (sacrificial fire) ceremony was performed on the consecration of the shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa by Pratāpasiṁha Varman in 1582, a Brāhmaṇa was assigned to perform two *havanas* daily and tell four *mālās* or chant sacred mantras on a rosary (usually made of *rudrākṣa* berries)[158] on behalf of the king. For this he was paid every day in kind and money, *roka*, and a land grant was also made to him for the services rendered to Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. The daily provisions, which were to last only for the days when personal prayer and rosary were being said for the king, consisted of: two *ṭaṇkās* in cash, three *seer* of fine rice, half a *seer* of pulses, two *sīrśāhīs* of salt and a *seer* of *ghee*.[159] The land grant consisted of two and a half *bhangas* of land at Drabila, five *lahaḍīs* of "land…the area to be enjoyed…(included) a house, the upper cottage in the cavity of the hill (?), the footpath and the zigzag watercourse." The same priest was given as *śāsana*, "one house-site in the town of Chambā…for the daily performance of *go-dūhanā-mālā* at (the temple of) Candragupta and of *havana* at the seat of Baṃsīgopala."[160] Such maintenance grants were common in all parts of the western Himalayan region. For instance, in "Nirmand Copper Plate Inscription of Mahāsāmanta Mahārājā Samudrasena," there is a provision of *balī*—offerings of flowers, fruits, grain, rice, etc.—*caru* or cooked food for oblation, and *sattra* or perpetual alms, along with incense, lamps

[157] "Surem Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 28, pp. 78–80; "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra; V. S. 1648," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 29, pp. 80–81.

[158] *Rudrākṣa* literally means the eye of Rudra, a name given to the berries of *Elaeocarpus ganitrus*.

[159] "Drabila Grant of Pratapsimha Varman, Sastra 58," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 24, pp. 70–2.

[160] "Drabila Grant of Pratapsimha Varman, Sastra 58," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 24, pp. 70–2.

and garland of flowers.[161] The grant was specifically made to sustain the daily worship and was not intended as a maintenance grant, which was provided separately as *agrahāra*. Thus, Pratap Singh issued a maintenance grant to Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa after the end of a consecration and purification ritual by way of fixed receipts to be received by the deity from its managers. According to this grant, the village of Mangaloa was bestowed to the deity and entrusted to one Hamira, Hedo and Chipu to manage. As per the agreement with these individuals, they were required to offer eight *peḍās* of wheat, three *peḍās* of peas, a *peḍā* of green-grams and (*roka*) four copper *ṭaṇkās* in cash, along with a half *seer* of *ghee* and a copper *ṭaṇkā*, as well as a fourth of a *seer* of honey and five copper *ṭaṇkās* in cash. It was agreed that the tax would be regularly paid to Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, failing which the grant would be relocated.[162] Later, such revenue-sharing arrangement was calibrated and popularised to maintain a host of deities, which were primary to the state such as Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, and the secondary deities which were locally popular such as Virawālī of Bairagarh. It was observed earlier as well that there was a sort of arrangement within the grant charter by which a number of local shrines were maintained while the state did not incur any direct responsibility towards these secondary shrines. In the process their need for cash and kind were met. This arrangement was a practical novelty, particularly when the state itself was hard pressed to find ways and means to meet its financial obligations.[163] Individuals extended patronage as well, setting aside a portion out of

[161] IHHPPKAHT, Inscription no. 84, pp. 328–9.

[162] *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 25, pp. 72–73.

[163] Such grants were complex in terms of sharing the revenue, sometimes fixed in such a way that the donee paid to the main and secondary shrines at the same time. For instance, in Samvat 2011 (1953–54 CE), the tenant of the shrine of Devī Vaire Wāḷī paid the shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa the following revenue (tribute) on the occasion of the festival of *Sair*:

Gallā (crop-share of revenue) in	*perā-maṇī-seer*	*Rokā* at the rate of (Rs)
Dāl-Māśa (black-gram)	24—11—0 2	0–0
Til (Sesame)	22—2—0	2–0–0
Ghee	0—21—2	2–0–0
Makhīr (Honey)	0—22—2½	2–0–0
Miṭṭhā Dhūpa (Incense)	0—2—3	2–0–0
Namak (Salt)	0—2—10	2–0–0

Dated 16–10–Samvat 2011, Manager, *Register of Complaints and Receipts (Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa)*, Entry No. 57.

Similarly, Shiv Ram, a tenant of the *Muāfī* grant to the portal of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, on the basis of crop sharing arrangement, paid the following amount in Samvat 2011 on the occasion of the festival of *Sair*:

their annual productivity, or by providing a fixed grant to the shrine. One such prominent case was that of the temple of Śiva (*Vaidyanāth*) at Kīragrāma (modern Baijnāth in the Kāngrā district), which was built in the early thirteenth century. The twin inscriptions, located in the temple, record the cumulative donations made to Mahādeva by various persons, consisting of: one plough of land in Pralambha village, half a plough of land in Navagrāma, two *droṇas* of paddy in Navagrāma, etc.; while the ruler donated "six *drammas* (money) daily from the money accruing from the income of the custom," a shop and "machine for tracting oil…for providing lamps."[164]

During the last days of Pratap Singh, the royalty started using 'Singh' before its family title 'Varman', trying obviously to link itself with the Rājpūt polity. Such attempts coincide with the Mughal inroads into the hills and Chambā becoming a tributary state, ceding fertile areas of Rilhu, Chari and Gharoh.[165] While the Mughal domination of the lower hills, Kāngrā and Nūrpur, was successful, for a brief while even the Chambā ruler Balabhadra Varman was deposed. Consequently, no landed charters were issued between 1599 and 1607, as well as between 1620 and 1629. The Rājā of Nūrpur, Jagat Singh, who was favoured by the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr, killed his son.[166] As a result, the crown prince, Prithvi Singh, was reared in Kullu. That the state was feeling the external pressure is evident from the last charters of Balabhadra before his deposition. There is a certain air of uncertainty. Thus, while making a grant in 1614 on the termination of *Ekādaśī* fast, Balabhadra hoped that it would be upheld by future rulers, be they "*Handavī or Turuṣka*" (*nṛpatayo hindavo vā turuṣkā*).[167] Titles were dropped, substituted by an honorific '*Śrī*'. The last charter before deposition, in 1620, was issued to celebrate the birth of the future ruler Prithvi Singh, as well as for the recitation of *Harīvaṃṣa Purāṇa.* Tension is evident in

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Dhāna (Paddy)	112 *Druṇ* 12 *Path*	2–0–0
Dāl-Māśa (black-gram)	112 *Druṇ* 1¼ *Māṇī*	2–0–0
Ghee	3 *Seer*	2–0–0

Dated 16–8–Samvat 2011, Manager, *Register of Complaints and Receipts* (*Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa*), Entry No. 56.

164 IHHPPKAHT, Inscription nos. 79 & 80, pp. 298–317; G. Buhler, "The Two Praśastīs of Baijnāth," *Epigraphia Indica*, I, Calcutta, 1892, pp. 97–118. For context, J. Ph. Vogel, "Ancient Monuments of Kāngrā Ruined in Earthquake," *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report—1905–06*, pp. 17–25.

165 J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, I, p. 298.

166 J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, I, pp. 302–3.

167 *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 24, p. 108.

the formulation that the grant be endorsed by the rulers "of my family or anybody else."[168]

It is in this context that Chambā kingship required fresh legitimisation, a process duly provided by the *vaṁśāvalī.* Around this time there was also a subtle change in primacy accorded to religious symbols. *Kṛṣṇaprītiya* or devotion to Kṛṣṇa was substituted by greetings "*Rāma Rāma*."[169] The *vaṁśāvalī* project was perhaps, also started around this time. Peculiarly, the *vaṁśāvalī* associates Chambā lineage to the *Ikṣavāku* descent of Rāma, the *Rāmāyaṇa* hero. Subsequent land grants were issued in the name of Raghuvīra (*Śrī Raghuvīra prītiye*).[170] In ensuing charters the royal seal invokes Rāma and Sītā as the primary deities.[171] Prithvi Singh drops the surname 'Varman' and adopts the Kṣatriya-Rājput eponym, 'Singh' (*Siṁha*, the Lion). Much like Kullu (where different cultural sectors were integrated under the banner of Raghunāthjī) the state of Chambā, hereafter sets out to integrate the local cultural disparities, the popular cults, under the banner of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.

The Mughals recognised the claim of Prithvi Singh by honouring him "with a *Khilat*, an inlaid dagger" and co-opted him within the framework of the Empire by according him a rank or *mansab* of 1000 soldiers and 400 cavalry.[172] After recovering his territories from Jagat Singh of Nūrpur, he consolidated his position by building state offices or *Koṭhis* in the peripheral regions of Churah and Pāngī. As he consolidated his position he "went on pilgrimage to Prayāg, Kāśī and Gayā."[173] The compiling of *vaṁśāvalī* was given up around 1645. It ends abruptly. Perhaps the chronicle had served its purpose and outlived its utility.

[168] "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra; V. S. 1686," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 51, text, p. 116.

[169] See plates after "Gulehi Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 46, pp. 109; "Nurpur Plate," no. 47, p. 110; "Bamana Plate," no. 48, p. 111; "Hadsar Plate," no. 49, pp. 112–13; "Jvālāmukhi Plate," no. 50, pp. 113–15, etc.

[170] "Chambā Plate of Prithvi Simha, VS 1701," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 71, p. 150.

[171] "Chambā Plate of Prithvi Simha, VS 1717," *Antiquities*, II, Inscription no. 75, p. 156.

[172] J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, I, p. 305.

[173] J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, I, pp. 306–07.

Authorised Perception: Cultural Pretext in Vaṁśāvalī

The genealogical roll of Chambā rulers or the *vaṁśāvalī* was probably compiled between the 1550s and 1650s. As pointed out earlier, the compilation was made as a legitimising tool to construct consent-to-rule in the face of external threat. Such consent, drawn largely from paternal descent to legitimise the rule, was an accepted formula used earlier in similar situations as in the Kulaiṭ Plate of Soma Varman. The authenticity of the genealogical details and/or of events provided in the *vaṁśāvalī* are, therefore, not material, as it draws heavily from the prevailing oral tradition, inscriptions and copper-plate charters to bolster the claim of rulers by manipulating dynastic past and arrogating cultural as well as political linkages with the sub-continent. As the 'genealogical roll' is not based on such earlier known compilations, there are significant hiatuses. Certain names are omitted; others figure in it, but are not corroborated by any other source; there is a wrong ascription, for instance, to the shrine of Nṛsiṁha in Bhramaur; and an attempt to antiquate the past more than what it was, as in the case of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa shrine. It would be far fetched to use it as a source of early history, as has been indiscriminately relied upon in the past.[174] It is rather a statement of the medieval Chambā rulers, consciously made to fashion our view about them and their past.

The *vaṁśāvalī* draws inspiration from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* the model it apparently emulates. It begins with an obeisance to Nārāyaṇa, from whom cosmogony is derived, and a bond is affirmed with the 'solar race' of Rājpūts—the *Ikṣavāku* lineage of Rāma of Ayodhyā, the *Rāmāyaṇa* protagonist. It revolves around the twin 'kingdom' of Brahmapurā-Chambā without delineating territorial limits. Implicitly, it means the territorial state as it existed in the sixteenth century. Sixty fourth in descent was Maru, (the name has uncanny rhyme to Mewār. There is close correspondence of the Chambā *vaṁśāvalī* with the myth of Guhila state)[175] who "revived the solar race" and established

[174] It is interesting that both Goetz and Hutchison and Vogel cautioned against the medieval *vaṁśāvalī*, yet used it as an authentic source to fill in the gaps, the omissions not withstanding. Most researchers of Chambā followed the political chronology suggested by Vogel, Hutchison and Goetz, magnifying the mistakes manifold as unsuspecting readers and students digest them uncritically.

[175] Thapar, "The Mouse in the Ancestry," pp. 427–34; Jha, "State Formation in Early Medieval Chamba," p. 128; H. Goetz, associates Maru to the Pratihāras of Marwar,

"kingdoms" for his sons in Kalapa (?) and Brahmapurā after reaching Kashmir. All subsequent rulers abdicated thrones to practice asceticism (*vāṇaprasta*?) and during the reign of Ajay Varman, Brahmapurā was blessed by the miraculous appearance of *lingas*, a sign of early Śaivite inroads constructing definitive religious 'space' couched in the idiom of benediction and protection. He abdicated the throne to his son Meru Varman, who built the fabulous temples of Śiva and Śakti in Brahmapurā.

Though the 'scroll' refers to dynastic vicissitudes—a brief occupation by Kīras (perhaps the Ladakh-Tibetan or Yarkhand rulers) who killed the 'king' towards the end of the ninth century, whose son Moṣūṇa Varman was reared in the neighbouring state—there are no ruptures, political or territorial. The scroll records a continuous flow of rulers from the mythic progenitor to the contemporary. However, all rulers after Moṣūṇa are stated as belonging to the *Kula*-lineage of Moṣūṇa. His birth explicates the 'miraculous', a 'divine' consent-to-rule. The ruler got the name after he was found abandoned in the cave guarded by mice, as it were, and then raised in the neighbouring state of Suket, which helped him regain his patrimony (see, Introduction). The story runs parallel to the origin myth of the Guhilas of Mewār (in Rajasthan), where the clan name is similarly derived from cave or *Gohā*/*Guhā*.[176]

The lineage of Moṣūṇa (*kula*) shifted the seat of the 'kingdom' from Brahmapurā to Chambā towards the middle of the tenth century, which may be defined in terms of the segregation of the Śaivite 'sacred realm' from the 'temporal seat', denoted by the new capital, Campā or Chambā. Sāhilla Varman built the township of Chambā on the banks of the *Irāvatī* (Rāvī) after defeating the Kṣatriyas (subtle reference to the warrior-heroes, an eponym given to the alliance of local chieftains opposing the expansion of the early Chambā state) in battle and performing a buffalo sacrifice to the patron deity Campāvatī, named after his daughter and styled as the goddess Mahiṣāsuramardinī—the slayer of the buffalo-headed demon. The territorial shift, however, demanded an explanation, which the *vaṁśāvalī* attempted by evolving a two-fold strategy, viz:

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which needs closer scrutiny, "History of Chambā State in the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of Indian History*, XXX (I) 1952, p. 302.

[176] Thapar, "The Mouse in the Ancestry," pp. 429–30; Jha, "State Formation in Early Medieval Chamba," p. 128.

I) Associating the Nāth-Siddha tradition with the Brahmapurā ruling lineage. The charismatic renunciation tradition was invoked in the persona of Charpaṭnāth. Charpaṭnāth was a *raseśvara*-alchemist Siddha mentioned in the Vajrayāna Buddhist tradition and by Matsyendra-Gorakṣa as well as the *Kaula* tradition of Kashmir. He allegedly visited Brahmapurā during the reign of Sāhilla Varman, and granted a boon of ten sons to the king (see, the first section of Chapter 2). He was instrumental in shifting the seat of power, therefore legitimising it, and building the township of Chambā. While other temples were built in the capital, he allegedly aided the foundation of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple (as recounted in the last section). His intervention is similar to that of Bappā of Mewār, who received "a double-edged sword from" Gorakṣanath while he made a bid to control Chittor.[177]

II) Making Chambā the foremost seat of Vaiṣṇavism (distinguished from Brahmapurā, which was the seat of Śaivism) with the establishment of the worship of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Vaiṣṇava devotion was associated with its sub-continental cosmos by devising the myth of "white stone" that was imported from the Vindhyā region, from which the image was sculpted (see pp. 61–62). The notion of piety and purity was also emphasised by building images of other deities after the 'stone' was found to be impure (it had a frog inside it). In order to give it a dramatic twist, a sense of sacrifice was emphasised. Thus, king Sāhilla Varman's sons perished in the enterprise of bringing the 'stone' from central India and it was left to the prowess of Yugākāra, the next ruler, to provide the 'medium' to sculpt the image. Finally, Sāhilla Varman abdicated after the completion of the shrine and "went with Charpaṭnāth to devote himself to asceticism."

The relationship with Vaiṣṇavism as a legitimising agency is again manifest during the reign of Pratap Singh Varman (1559–1586). He, however, does not use 'Varman' in his charters. He started to build the shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa but was short of resources. The 'god' promised him in the dream that "all (has) been provided by me." The next morning the discovery of a copper mine was reported, the proceeds

[177] Thapar, "The Mouse in the Ancestry," 1984, p. 432; Jha, "State Formation in Early Medieval Chamba," p. 128.



Figure 1.1 Charpaṭnāth's samādhi-cenotaph inside the perimeter of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple, Chambā.

of which were provisioned (*sampādite*; Vogel translates this building process as "restoration" which is presumptuous and unfounded) to all the temples.

The genealogy does not dwell on earlier debacles. However, it does mention the killing of Janardana in 1623 and the rearing of Prithvi Singh, the next ruler, in Maṇḍī and Kullu. It explicitly emphasises the defeat of Jagat Singh, "the chief councillor of the lord of *yavaṇas*," that is, the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr. It was due to this humiliation that the '*yavaṇas*', the Mughals, 'robbed' Balabhadra, who is designated as *Balī-Karaṇa*—the supreme donor, of his kingdom. However, the symbolic complex in which these events are couched in the genealogy is significant to understand the subtle manipulations, the mechanism by which consent-to-rule was devised. The authors deliberately used

the identity loaded term '*yavaṇas*'[178] in the *vaṁśāvalī* to underline the cultural 'otherness' of the Mughals, opposed to the dominant culture of the state, and, therefore, to subtly de-legitimise the hegemonic Empire. This is a significant intervention as the contemporary inscriptions of these rulers use a territory-based identity, '*Turuṣka*' (Turks), shorn of its cultural underpinnings. The *vaṁśāvalī* highlights how Prithvi Singh regained his throne and expelled the aggressor by forging an 'alliance' with the '*yavaṇas*', the Mughal Empire. The use of the term "alliance" seems designed to suggest a relationship of equality with the Mughals, but at this point the text ends abruptly.

In regard to political processes, there are three shifts discernible in the *vaṁśāvalī.* The first is the mythical association with Rāma, the hero-god, used to claim the *sūryavaṃṣī* or solar descent. Such a claim was also made by Meru Varman in his inscriptions. The *vaṁśāvalī*, therefore, traces the dynastic roots to the 'ritually pure' area of Kośala, the country of Rāma. That the rule had local roots, however, is conspicuous in Meru's inscriptions where he identifies his clan as Moṣūṇa *sva-gotra* and *Āditya vaṁśa*. The story of Moṣūṇa, who recovers the patrimony as a progenitor of the dynasty (*Moṣūṇa kula*) is placed later, which is an anachronism. The shift from *gotra* to *kula* (from clan to lineage) was affected by the eleventh century in the Kulaiṭ inscription, which brings the role of Sāhilla Varman to the forefront. Incidentally, the inscription attributes such conquests to Sāhilla, as the genealogy to Moṣūṇa. Both vanquished Kīras, the warriors first mentioned in the *Rājataranginī* in the twelfth century,[179] who were entrenched also in Baijnāth around this period.[180]

The third shift was in the sixteenth century when the dynastic name 'Varman' was replaced by the Rājpūt 'Singh', obviously to appropriate the contemporary ideal of 'warrior' kingship, particularly with respect

[178] It is interesting to observe that the terminology of 'cultural otherness' is invoked whenever there is a threat to the dynastic rule. This is a ruse to emphasise the gravity of the threat by highlighting it as an assault on the cultural 'identity'. Thus, Sāhilla Varman is said to have won against the Kīras, who were designated as *Turuṣka*, just as the Mughals were called the *Yavaṇas*. Both terms emphasise iconoclasm and are used to strike an emotive cord with the 'image-worshipping' population of the Chambā state.

[179] *Rājataranginī*, VIII: 1443, p. 113.

[180] G. Buhler, "The Two Praśastīs of Baijnāth," *Epigraphia Indica*, I, Calcutta, 1892, pp. 97–118.

to Mewār. It is understandable that Mewār inspired the Chambā rulers as it stood against the Mughal Empire that was pressing Chambā to the wall, when the 'scroll' was written/compiled. The third shift is also indicated in the construction of the 'tributary state' of Prithvi Singh. While Pratap Singh first dropped the surname, the genealogy purposefully ascribes this to Prithvi Singh, whose father Janardhan was killed and he was raised in Manḍi and Kullu. Prithvi Singh reclaimed the patrimony and forged an 'alliance' with the Mughal Empire. By manipulating the syntactic structure of the 'scroll', the *vaṁśāvalī* simulates equality with the Mughal Empire after Chambā vanquished its chief enemy, the ruler of Nūrpur, who was an ally of the Empire. The local is implicitly inter-changeable with the imperial, as the defeat of Nūrpur is circuitously projected as that of the Mughals. Thus the ruler warrants 'warrior' status. Thereafter, the Chambā rulers adopted the changed dynastic name that asserted their 'warrior' status as the defenders of 'faith' against the 'cultural others', the '*yavaṇas*'. It is also worthy of note that the story of Moṣūṇa, shorn of its mythical ascription, is similar to that of Prithvi Singh—from the death of their parents to being reared in alien places that helped them regain their patrimony after they defeated the forces that were 'culturally alien'.[181]

The manipulation of mythological symbols and appropriation of the lunar/solar lineage of Pāṇḍū/Rāma, as a process of legitimisation was, however, a common refrain in the late 14th and 15th century north India irrespective of the religious/cultural divide. For instance, Śihāb-u-dīn, the ruler of Kashmir (1354–73 CE), is compared to Rāma for his "sense of duty" (?) in the "Kothihar stone slab inscription" issued in 1369 CE to commemorate the erection of some "religious hospice" (*dharma maṭhasaṃgrhyam*). He also appropriated descent from the lunar lineage of the Panḍavas (*panḍuvaṃṣajah*).[182] The inscription issued in Śāradā script at a pilgrimage site was obviously aimed at constructing consent-for-his-rule among people whose ruler he vanquished. Such manipulation has theoretical significance in the context of state process. While dispirited Chambā manipulated 'alien' as a category to forge a bond with the population through the idiom of resistance, to construct consent-for-its-rule by culturally de-legitimising the 'other';

[181] To say that there is contrariety in the 'genealogical roll' of the Chambā rulers and their charters would be a gross understatement.

[182] Vs. 7 line 15 and vs. 3 lines 9/10, in Deambi, *Corpus of Sarada Inscriptions of Kashmir*, Inscription no. 8, pp. 117–18, 170; CDG 1904, p. 282.

the victorious Śihāb-u-dīn sought consent-for-his-rule by soliciting the symbols of vanquished. He manipulated the symbols of 'resistance' rather than co-opting them in the mythology of victor.[183] The distinction in this case between legitimisation and constructing consent-to-rule is critical as the victor seeks legitimacy from the cultural symbols of his milieu but consent-to-rule from the people he rules, particularly when there is confrontation of two cultural ethos. By covertly associating with the cultural identity of the 'other', the sectarian lines are blurred, paving the way for a larger cultural identity beyond religion, as in the case of Śihāb-u-dīn. This larger cultural identity is a subtle sub-text in the documents produced in this selection as well; where sectarianism, particularly between the Jogīs and Muslim faqīrs (as also Nanak, see figure 5.1), seems rather blurred—though they maintain their peculiar identities, they collaborate on issues of mutual interests—to an extent that they were complimentary. The Jogīs using the epithet Pīr interchangeably for Mahant or the sectarian Head of the portal of Charpaṭ (in this case), as was the dominant norm, is merely a reflection of mutual collaboration and regard.[184]

Along with consent, however, there is also a process of claiming the disputed—subtly planted in the genealogical roll—legitimised by the perceived/alleged antiquity of the record. The point in case is the genealogy roll of the Ḍogrā rulers of Jammu. Tracing the genealogy from the *Ikṣavākus*, it appropriates, like Chambā, Rājā Harīśa Caṅdra, the "beholder of truth," whose grandson Canyak "built the city of Chambā after his own name." Thus, a new legend is coined to stake a claim and subvert the knowledge of the past. Interestingly, the foundation of Chambā precedes the birth of Rāma in this genealogical scroll.[185]

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[183] Such Hindu-Muslim double registers are common in the frame stories compared with regional mythology diffused across the Indian sub-continent by Afghān-Rājpūt mercenaries reflected in such regional epics as *Pabūjī*, versions of *Kṛṣṇaṃśacarita* and *Ālhā*, the south Indian texts as *Epic of Palnadu* or the *Ballad of Rājā Desing* as well as the ritual and lore surrounding the cult Draupadi. These seem to have been impacted by *Satpanth Shiaism* or *Nizaris* along with the *Nāthpanthis*, the Jogīs, who were influenced by and in turn affected the *Ishmaili/Nizari* secular and ritual space. Alf Hiltebeitel, *Draupadi among Rajputs, Muslims and Dalits: Rethinking India's Oral and Classical Epics*, Chicago, 1999/Delhi, 2001.

[184] For more evidence on such collaborations see, W. R. Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 33.

[185] *Gulābnāmā of Diwān Kirpā Rāma (A history of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu and Kashmir)*, compiled in Persian 1865, (pub. 1876), S. S. Charak, tr. Delhi, 1977, Ch. I, p. 4.

Genealogy, aimed at constructing consent-to-rule, manufactured the tools of legitimisation by invoking the charismatic renunciatory tradition of the Siddhas, who were perceived as endowed with 'magical powers', and Vaiṣṇavism, which emphasised purity and devotion. While the Siddhas inspired the local imagination, their 'association' with the state process, like the Guhilas of Mewār, was used by the local dynasty to "legitimise their power." Similarly, Vaiṣṇavism was used as "an effective agency of social manipulation" as well as for its "assimilative ability."[186] It furthered the brahmanic dominance by sanskritising the proclivities. Vaiṣṇava symbols were deliberately located in a constructed past since Vaiṣṇavism gained popularity rather late in Chambā. Thus the story of Vindhyā stone and the making of the image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa for worship by Sāhilla Varman are based on constructed foundations to antiquate the shrine built during the reign of Pratap Singh. The Chambā rulers were aware of the 'power of past' as an effective means of legitimisation, projected as sanskritic legacy or evolved tradition. Therefore, such manipulations were required to validate the dynastic rule as a means to restore the confidence of people, particularly in the suspect periphery.

It is not surprising that the post-genealogy Chambā state revolved around the symbol of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, though alternative sacred space was also sustained (as will be seen in the symbol of Maṇimaheśa, discussed later in Chapter 2). The late medieval Chambā reconciled with its tributary status, with the overlord asserting nominal control and leaving the state to its own devices. Chambā, however, had to contend with continuous pressure from competing hill neighbours, particularly Kāngrā and Baśoli, to control the prime paddy producing agricultural region.[187] Notwithstanding such tensions, the state consolidated itself culturally and territorially with its nucleus at Chambā (the capital city) by the middle of the seventeenth century when the compilation of the royal *vaṁśāvalī*-genealogy stops abruptly.

[186] Thapar, "The Mouse in the Ancestry," pp. 427–34.

[187] J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, I, chapters on Kāngrā and Chambā, II, chapter on Jammu hill-states, particularly Baśolī, Bhadarvah, Kashtwar and Jammu. Also, documents of treaties with these states and the intervention of 'overlords', Mughals, Abdalis, Sikhs, CBSMC, C1–C7, pp. 11–12; Document C12 to C17, pp. 68–9; C19 to 50, pp. 69–72; C58 to 61, pp. 73–4.

Feet over one stone,
The other stone is revered?
Says Charpaṭ, the world is strange!
Why is this stone a STONE,
Why that stone a GOD?
(*Charpaṭjī kī Śabadī, vs. 57*)



Figure 2.1 Charpaṭnāth (the Stone worshipped!): Black stone sculpture (placed in the 14th century by the Registrar, Antiquities, Himachal Pradesh Government) that is worshipped in the portal of Charpaṭ.

CHAPTER TWO

THE STATE AND THE PORTAL OF CHARPAṬ: SMALL SHRINE-BIG SYMBOL

The genealogy of the Chambā royal house ends abruptly around 1645. According to this genealogy, Sāhilla Varman, the ruler of Chambā (tenth century), was a devout Śaivite and a yogic practitioner. In his reign, the ever-pervasive eighty-four Siddhas appeared and gave him a boon of 'sons'.

> The Jogī Charpaṭī went with the king. Together with Yugākāra and his nine other excellent sons the king defeated the Kṣatriyas in battle and founded on the banks of Irāvatī the town of Campā, which was before adorned with Campaka trees and guarded by the goddess Campāvatī, having slain the Buffalo and others. On the same spot there were also various lingas, at the confluence of the Śālikā (with the Irāvatī), and at the confluence of the Kunāḷā and at the confluence of Śālikā with Sarasvatī. Having brought these (to the town) with the consent of Charpaṭ, the king, named Sāhilla, the master of senses, established Gupta and Candreśvara, Kūrmeśvara and other temples… Having finally established a sanctuary of Charpaṭ… after he had caused an image of Lakṣmī's Lord to be made and set up reverently, he installed Yugākāra (as his successor) in the town of Campā and went with Charpaṭī to devote himself to asceticism. The eighty four wizards were also (with him).
>
> (*Antiquities of Chambā*, I, Vs 65–80, pp. 92–93)

There is certain desperation in the last section of the royal Chambā genealogy, before it abruptly ends. The trend is also witnessed in the last grants made after the restoration of the Chambā ruling dynasty. Even though Vaiṣṇavism became the pronounced religion of Chambā, the significance attached to the local centres is indicative of the conscious efforts made by the rulers to reach out to their subjects. Clearly, the state was striving to create the consent-to-rule by appropriating the local symbols as the instruments of legitimation. This dichotomy, between legitimation and the consent-to-rule, is significant to understand the process of consolidation. The 'sanskritic' religion, particularly Vaiṣṇavism, was instrumental in fostering an association with the subcontinental cosmos, while the local symbols were more concerned with the 'core area' in Chambā. The prominence accorded to the popular

symbols also aimed at reassuring the people that even though the state expressed its association with Vaiṣṇavism, it was sensitive to "the belief of people" as well. This expression is emphasised in the grants made to Charpaṭnāth. We shall also contextualise the relationship that was fostered among various tiers of religious centres.

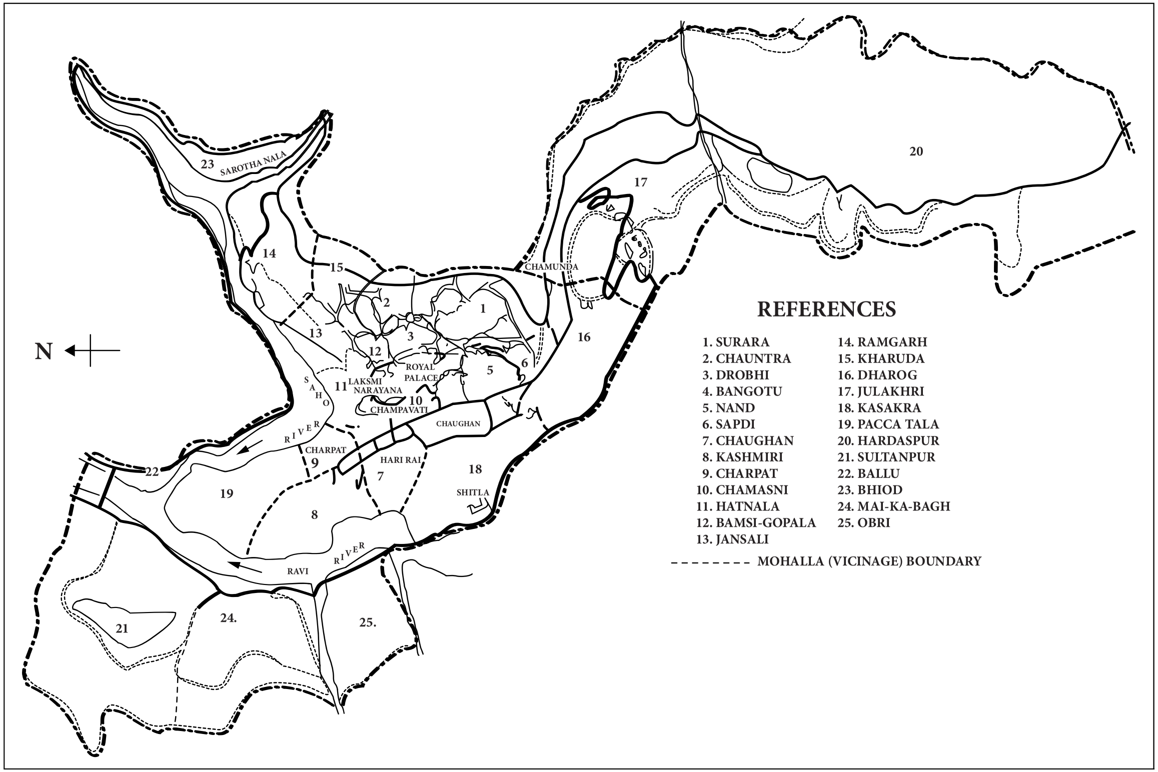
The Context of the Documents

> ...The *Kaula-pañca-dharma* of these places has been (written) confirmed. It is undertaken that the dynasty of Śrī Rājā Brij Rāj Dev will nurture (look after?) this religion. The dynasty of Śrī Rājā Rāj Singh will collect revenue from these parganās. What ever be the lapse (?) in the personal service of the dynasty of Śrī Rājā Rāj Singh by the dynasty of Śrī Rājā Brij Rāj (that is, irrespective of the differences), they will keep aside this religion.
> (Document C-23, Bhūrī Singh Museum at Chambā, translated as document I.1, in the present collection)

In 1784, the ruler of Chambā issued (renewed) a land grant to the Jogīs of Charpaṭnāth:

> ...the grant of Charpaṭ, who is in the extreme (other) end of Chambā, be renewed for *Samvat* 60 (1784 CE) to one Jogī (named) Gulāb Nāth. Like earlier years, what ever is the landed-ownership of Charpaṭ, the same revenue share (of the state) in the new (harvest) is renewed in the name of Gulāb Nāth. We shall continue the practice of earlier years, namely, providing some vessels to the *thāṇā* (shrine), a share in the harvest and a share from the worship at the portal of Mahākālī, as was done earlier.
> (Translated as document no. I. 2, in the present collection)

In many ways, both these documents (which are part of the study and produced subsequently in entirety) affirm the relationship between the Jogīs of Charpaṭ and the *Kaula* tradition in Jammu and Kashmir, while the royal genealogy tries to establish him in the early tenth century Chambā. The conjunctions are contingent upon the fact that Charpaṭnāth, an alchemist or *raseśvara* Siddha, is associated with Rajasthān, eastern India, Nepal, Tibet or Chambā; with the prevailing traditions varying from Kashmiri-Kaula, Buddhist-Vajrayāna, the haṭha-yogic and tantric practices of Matsyendranāth and Gorakṣanāth. Chronologically, the tradition of Charpaṭ varies from the early tenth century CE (as in Chambā) to the 14–16th centuries. His alleged 'writings', or stray compilations of 'sayings', are spatially spread. These are in different languages/dialects, much like other writings attributed to



Map 2.1 The Chambā Town: Locating Charpaṭnāth and Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Temple Complex (Based on the 'town map after Independence' by the Town and Country Planning, Chambā)

the Nāth-Siddha tradition. The belief in Chambā is one such reflection, though the documentary evidence starts only in the late eighteenth century.

Charpaṭī and the Rulers of Chambā

From the southern country
Siddha Jogīs came…
Come Dhūḍu (Śiva), come in the evening
Come and be our guest tonight…
Nine men give you the offerings of *Nawāḷā*
O Dhūḍu, let me repay your debt…
Dance O Dhūḍu, dance with your locks swaying
Dance O Dhūḍu, dance…
(Song sung during the ritual of Nawāḷā in Chambā)

According to the medieval *vaṁśāvalī*-genealogy of the Chambā rulers, Charpaṭnāth is closely associated with the state formation in the tenth century (See chapter 1). Just like the song sung in the local Śaivite ritual (Nawāḷā, as quoted above), the royal genealogy records that, along with other Siddhas, Charpaṭ arrived at the court of king Sāhilla Varman, who is placed in the late half of the 10th century CE.[1] It further emphasises the influence of the Siddha by stating that the king having achieved the objective of creating a stable state, abdicated the throne in favour of his son and set out on the path of asceticism along with Charpaṭ.[2] Presumably, Charpaṭnāth is the same as mentioned in the Buddhist Siddhacarya tradition as Charpaṭī and somewhat more elaborately in the Kānphaṭā or Nāth tradition as an alchemist or a *raseśvara* Siddha, the disciple of Gorakṣanāth. Obviously, it is assumed that he visited the western-Himalayan state of Chambā to look for herbs in his quest for immortality.[3] There is, however, no mention of Charpaṭnāth in the

[1] *Dakṣiṇe yogasiddho-ābhūtasiddhāstaca samāgatāḥ/*
Caturaśītisaṅkhyāste varadānārthamasya hi//64//
Vaṁśāvalī, vs. 64, *Antiquities* I, p. 86.

[2] *Saha Carpaṭinā rājā tatheiva tapasi sthitaḥ/*
Caturabhiradhikāñcāmanna śītiḥ siddhamūrtayaḥ//81//
Vaṁśāvalī, vs. 64, *Antiquities* I, p. 87.

[3] Charpaṭi or Charpaṭ finds mention in all the standard works on medieval mysticism and the Nāth cult, on Gorakhnāth and the hagiographic literature surrounding him. It is difficult to date him based on this literature and the oral tradition of Chambā, as recounted in the genealogy, is used to determine the tenth century date, notwithstanding the credibility of the genealogy itself (as discussed in the last section of Chapter 1). It is speculated that Charpaṭ existed in the 13th century, when some tantric influences

numerous charters issued by the Chambā rulers until the compiling of the royal genealogy, which ends abruptly in the 1640s. Subsequently, a shrine was erected to Charpaṭnāth and its Jogī-priests received the first grant in 1783. According to the *tanqih* no. 522, provided along with the genealogical table in the First Regular Land Settlement of Chambā, the Jogī priests claimed that they belonged to the Saroha *gotra*-clan and Jogī caste.[4] As a caste group, the Jogīs accepted matrimony as the basis of succession. Nevertheless, the ascetic Jogīs differed from them such that they refused to abide by the norms of the householders and the succession to the seat of the preceptor was by an election within the fraternity. A successor was chosen from the group of *celās* or ascetic-pupil, who were all defined by a (fictive) kinship term, *gur-bhāīs* or sectarian-brothers, descendants of a common guru.[5]

It may also be noted that the suffix 'Nāth' after the name of Jogīs implied that they were adherents of the Nāth-Siddha ascetics, a haṭha-yogic 'tradition' created by merging twelve Śaivite-haṭha-yogic sects (*bhekha bārāha-pantha*) by Gorakṣanāth. In this case, the members owed allegiance to Charpaṭnāth. It is doubtful if the shrine was terribly prosperous or central in the consideration of the Chambā state. Renewal charters provided the shrine with some customary cess (*maṅge-dī-muāfī*), along with a fixed annuity in cash. It also received offerings made by devotees (both in cash and kind) along with contributions made by the royal household on ceremonial and other ritualistic occasions.

The tradition of Jogīs cut across and fused the narrow sectarian lines between the *Kaula* tradition of the bordering state of Jammu and the Nāth-Siddha tradition that was popular in Panjāb. It was particularly

are discernable, Bhamboolnāth, ed., *Sri Charpaṭ Satkam*, Hardwar, 1969; D. Yadav, *Vajrayani Siddha Sarhyada*, Shantiniketan, 1972; Giuseppe Tucci, "Animadversions Indicae," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXVI, 1, 1930 & *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 2 Vols., Roma, 1949; Mohan Singh, *Gorakhnath and Medieval Hindu Mysticism*, Lahore, 1937; H. P. Dwivedi, *Nāth Sampradaya*, Varanasi, 1966; and recently, D. G. White, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India*, Chicago, 1996.

[4] The *shajra-nasab* or the genealogical table was attached with the copy of succession to prove inheritance in the *misl-haqiyah* register of the revenue village, *mohal*, Chambā vide *Khata* No. 892/ *khatauni* no. 1323, in the process of the Final Settlement of Chambā in 1957.

[5] Sacred kinship ties as the basis of organisation and succession is common to the majority of medieval mystic sects as has been elucidated also by, Daniel Gold, *The Lord as Guru: Hindi Sants in North Indian Tradition*, Delhi, 1987 as well as in Gold, "Clans and Lineage Among the Sants: Seed, Substance, Service," in K. Schomer and W. H. McLeod, eds., *The Sants: Studies in a Devotional Tradition of India*, Delhi, 1987.



Figure 2.2 Meditating Siddha: Tantric influence (Baijnāth Temple)

popular in the peripheral areas of the Chambā state. The construction of *marhīs* (hutment) of the Jogīs in the pastoral and agrarian rural-scape in the border areas of Jammu and Panjāb, particularly in Churah (largely the contested area bordering Jammu and Kashmir), underscores the significance of these cultural out-posts in creating a constituency that was drawn into the politico-religious orbit of the state. These centres were the cultural embodiments of local identities that the state itself protected, much like the *Deotās* (area specific godlings) of the Śimlā and Kullu districts.

The Jogis of Charpaṭ derived their power by functioning as hinge-figures that linked these 'cultural outposts' on the periphery with the state. They bonded the periphery to the nucleus by providing horizontal inter-linkages between each of these cultural-centres; and itself being vertically linked to them. Indeed, by abandoning ascetic practices, the Jogīs lost some of their charisma and as homemakers, they were placed low in the caste hierarchy. Yet, by claiming matrimonial ties with the spectrum of professional castes dotting the rural periphery of the Chambā state, the Jogīs influenced a vast, albeit fluid, religious constituency, which was bonded by kinship ties. This is evident from

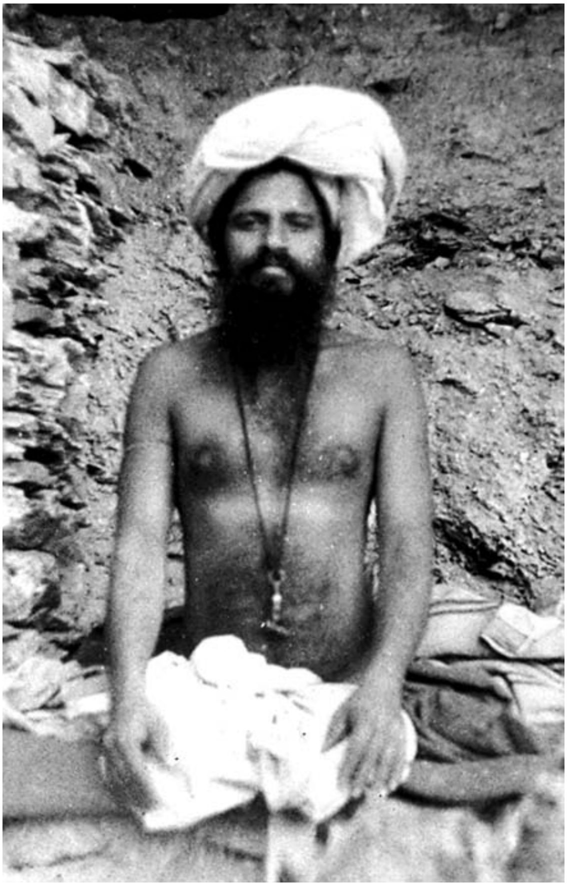


Figure 2.3 Aughar: a Jogī who wears only a Sélī-string (photographed in 1991 at Sāho, Chambā)

the number of Jogīs, heads of such *marhīs*, making annual tribute to the Charpaṭ Jogīs both in cash as well as kind and accepting their sectarian superior status therefore (See the account-sheets reproduced in Chapter 4–II). Such a constituency was politically manipulated, even if it remained on the margins of the larger political and social formations in the neighbourhood. For instance, the people of Churah oscillated between the hill-states of Chambā and Jammu that patronised the dominant Kaula sectarians, so much so that the treaty signed in 1781 between Brij Rāj Dev of Jammu and Rāj Singh of Chambā made a particular point of mentioning this religious constituency of *Kaula Dharma* in the territory of Churah. They were to be 'patronised' by

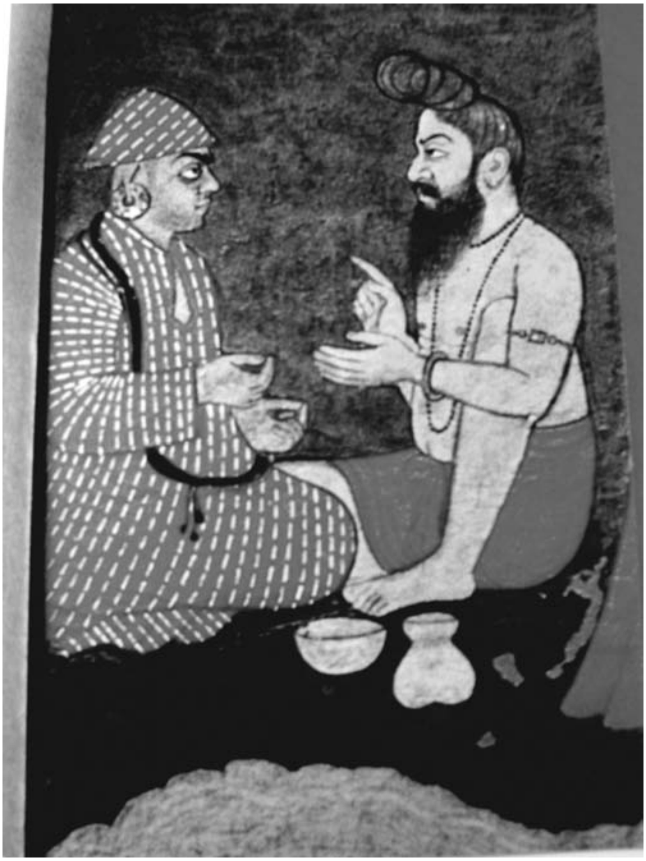


Figure 2.4 Nāth Mahant: who wears earrings-darśana (details of a painting from the Maṇḍī School)

Jammu, even though the political and territorial control over Churah area was ceded to Chambā.[6]

[6] Mahesh Sharma, "State Formation and Cultural Complex in Western Himalaya: Chambā Genealogy and Epigraphs—700–1650," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 41 (IV) 2004, pp. 387–431; H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Castes and Tribes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Lahore, 1919, Vol. I, pp. 566, 571–2, 626, 320. For patronage to Kaula practitioners, see 1781 agreement between Rājā Brij Rāj of Jammu and Rāj Singh of Chambā, C-25, J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chambā*, Calcutta, 1909, p. 70. For a general discussion on Kaula practices see the second part of M. S. G. Dyczkowski, *The Canon of the Saivagama and the Kubjika Tantra of the Western Kaula Tradition*, Delhi, 1989.

The relations amongst the Jogīs were not always tension-free and in the early 1920s, the pre-eminence of the Charpaṭ Jogīs was challenged because some of their ritual-practices were outside the purview of the Jogī rituals, in a strict sectarian sense.

It may be of some interest to observe that the Jogīs did not conjure favourable impressions among the 'colonial' and 'nationalists' as well. Their social and ritual practices, shrouded in mystery, were loathed by the advocates or believers of the "sanskritic civilisation" as a representation of the Indian cultural ethos.[7] Their detractors in this "civilisational" discourse were the colonial rulers as well (writing before 1920), who had little sympathy for their practices. Buck loathed them as "meat-eaters and wine-drinkers,"[8] while Omen dubbed them as "peripatetic", "hypocrites" and "cheats";[9] Maclagan revealed their "murderous proclivity",[10] and Crooke emphasised Mullaly's report on Madras to classify them as a "criminal tribe".[11] In a way, they were portrayed as hovering on the margins of society, eroding the social and cultural order. Yet, the fact that they effectively controlled the agrarian-pastoral mindset comes across forcefully. It was their charismatic control over this constituency that catapulted them, even if marginal, (as in the Chambā royal genealogy), to the forefront in the considerations of the state.

The Jogīs wielded such a powerful influence also because of the hold they had over the "minds" of the agrarian population. Ostensibly possessed of the Siddhīs or supernatural powers, the ascetic Jogīs controlled and fashioned the popular imagination, which is evident from the 1895 report from the Śimlā hill-states:[12]

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[7] The space provided to the sanskritic texts and rituals is a pointer, and a point of reference, to the continuity and departure from which the purity of a 'practice' or 'belief' is determined. The debate about the auspicious, pious, purity, pollution, unity and diversity has its moorings in the discourse, which revolts against the non-sanskritic practices. Ursula M. Sharma also tries to locate the linkages between the "different cultural levels of religious tradition and activity" in the Kāngrā hills in "consistent application of the rules of purity and pollution;" "The Problems of Village Hinduism: 'Fragmentation' and 'Integration'," *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, IV, Dec. 1970, p. 21.

[8] C. H. Buck, *Faiths, Fairs and Festivals of India*, 1917, Delhi, 1977 (reprint), p. 129.

[9] J. C. Oman, *The Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India*, 1902, Delhi, 1973 (reprint), pp. 183–84.

[10] *Punjab Census Report, 1891*, Lahore, 1892, p. 266.

[11] William Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, Vol. II, 1896, Delhi, 1978 (reprint), p. 105.

[12] Oman, quoting from *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, May 1895, pp. 183–84.

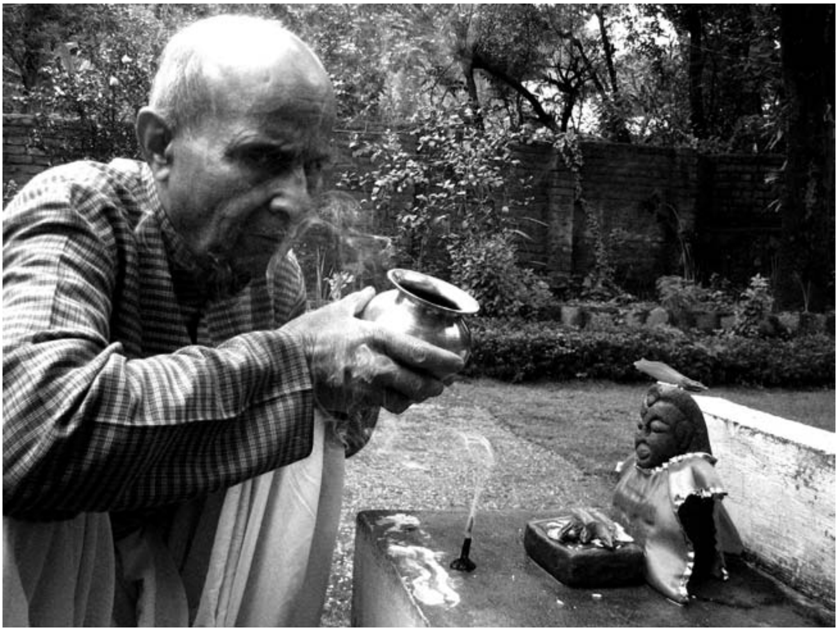


Figure 2.5 The daily worship of Nāth, housed in the courtyard of every house in Chambā and Kāngrā district of Himachal Pradesh (photographed in 2007 at Kharānāla, Baijnāth).

> Great excitement is being caused among the simple hill folks in some of the villages to the south of Simla by certain wandering Yogi. The man's last reported feat is really something beyond the ordinary. He is said to have burnt himself alive on a large pyre in front of a whole wondering village, and then ten days later to have appeared in the same village alive and unhurt. The hill people firmly believe this story, which they say must be true, as the Yogi can give them a detailed account of the topography of heaven. This, of course, settles the matter. It is manifestly impossible for any man to describe heaven unless he has been there to see.

The Kaulas and Jogīs

The present selection of documents begins with a treaty, signed in 1781, between Brij Rāj Dev of Jammu and Rāj Singh of Chambā. Both the contenders agreed that the personal animosity between the two states should not harm the constituents of the western region of Chambā, who were the followers of the *Kaula-Pañca-Dharma*. The document is interesting as Jammu subtly claimed a foothold in the region that was fiercely contested by these two states, by undertaking to 'nurture' the

'religion'. At the same time, it agreed to abdicate its right to collect revenue, hence recognising the sovereign claims of Chambā over this territory (Document I.1). The document is critical to appreciate the significance of Charpaṭ in Chambā, the agency through which such diverse religious communities were unified. It is against this backdrop that the documents make more sense—the state of Chambā providing 'big symbols' for the small shrines (keeping them small, however). It is interesting to note that Charpaṭ, for all practical purposes, is mentioned only in the 1640s genealogy, which attributes him a significant role in the early state formation and the construction of the Chambā capital in the tenth century (see above, the quote from Chambā genealogy).

That Charpaṭ is mentioned in the medieval *vaṁśāvalī* is significant also because it speaks about the influence that the renouncers exerted in the medieval polity, which historians are now coming to terms with. The Nāth-Siddhas were particularly associated with the north Indian medieval polity, for example the Guhilas as discussed in Chapter 1; later Mārwār; or as Jakhbar records point out, and as Pinch demonstrates, the Mughals as well.[13] While Pinch discusses the ascetic warlords, and at times their nexus with the state as mercenaries, the hold of the Nāth-Siddhas over people was more pronounced because of their alleged miraculous powers, the Siddhīs, which they possessed. The quest for immortality and 'Power', while living (as against the ontological position of spirituality, that is empowered in death: attaining *mokṣa* or *nirvāṇa*), which is epitomised in the attainment of six to nine Siddhīs,[14] in a way defined these charismatic Nāth-Siddhas. It is this sway that paved way for their ideological penetration and hold over the north Indian polity,

[13] B. N. Goswamy and J. S. Grewal, *The Mughals and Jogis of Jakhbar*, Simla, 1967; W. R. Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires*, Cambridge, 2006; and David N. Lorenzen, "Warrior Ascetics in Indian History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 98, 1, 1978, pp. 61–75.

[14] *The Padmāvat*, written by Malik Mohammad Jaisi, has been used here because he is a contemporary of the genealogy process. Himself a mystic, he enumerated these Siddhīs as: 1. *Anīmā* or the power to become infinitesimally small; 2. *Mahīmā*, acquire gigantic proportions; 3. *Laghīmā*, become light weighted; 4. *Garīmā*, become really heavy; 5. *Prāptī*, to reach really far; 6. *Ichatva*, obtaining desired object; 7. *Prākmaya*, obtaining fame (sovereignty); 8. *Vacitiva*, the power to subjection and 9, the power to conquer Sense perception. These range and nomenclature of these Siddhīs or powers changed over a time, but continue to emphasise the control of these adepts over the material and spiritual spheres that lead to awe and fear, often expressed in the idiom of respect or reverence. Malik Muhammad Jaisi, *Padmāvat*, tr. A. G. Shirraff, Calcutta, 1944, p. 25.

as recounted in the Chambā genealogy. This is also an index of their popular appeal, where fear and awe inspired by their powers—the control over the material and the spiritual—was often spoken in the idiom of respect and reverence.[15] How these Siddhas were regarded may be gauged from the mid 16th century account of Malik Muhammad Jaisi, written about the same time when the Chambā genealogy was in the process of composition.[16]

> ...the Siddha is one who feels neither hunger nor confusion of thought. He whom the Lord has made a Siddha in this world, none can recognise him whether he be revealed or disguised...A Siddha wanders fearlessly by night and by day; where he has fixed his eyes, there he approaches. A Siddha is so fearless as regards to his own life that when he sees a sword he bows his neck. A Siddha goes verily to places where life is destroyed...Siddhas are immortal; their bodies are like mercury... Siddhas are like vultures, and can see to the ends of heaven.

As the *vaṁśāvalī* informs, Charpaṭ perhaps had a sanctuary in the extreme end of Chambā, across the river Rāvī. It, however, seems unlikely that the shrine was built at the same place. The first grant to the Jogīs was made in 1783, when the land grant earlier made to Charpaṭ was transferred to a Jogī named Gulāb Nāth, who was appointed the priest of the portal of Charpaṭnāth. It may be conjectured that earlier a different branch of Jogīs were looking after the portal, if it existed, and the shifting cultural considerations, as the 1781 treaty with Jammu would suggest, made Chambā patronise the family of Gulāb Nāth. It was his honoured duty to firm up the ties of the state with the peripheral areas, as much as to be loyal to the family. That he was the priest of Mahākālī, the family deity of the Chambā rulers, would suggest this as well. Thereafter, the renewal of the grant is continuous, using the same language as the preceding charter, and merely changing the name of the ruler and the date. The 1783 charter is, however, not clear if this

[15] Francois Bernier, who travelled across India in the seventeenth century, also observed the "hideous to behold" "Jauguis": "In their trim I have seen them shamelessly walk, stark naked, through a large town, men, women, and girls looking at them without any more emotion than may be created when a hermit passes through our streets. Females would often bring them alms with much devotion, doubtless believing that they were holy personages, more chute and discreet than other men," *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, trs. I. Brock and A. Constable, London, 1934, Delhi, 1994 (reprint), p. 317.

[16] *Padmāvat*, p. 133: 22:6, 148: 24.2.

was the first grant made over to the Jogīs, as it obliquely refers to the landed provisions made earlier to Charpaṭnāth along with a share in the fresh-harvest, though subject to a cess paid in kind/cash (*maṅge-dī-muāfī*). The Jogīs also got a share from the proceeds accrued at the portal of Mahākālī. The Jogīs were also the priests of Mahākālī. Interestingly, the genealogy points out that the tutelary deity of Chambā was Bhadrakālī. This is significant as the genealogy prepared by the Brāhmaṇas was aware of the fact that only a non-Brāhmaṇa (Jogīs in this case) could officiate as the priest of Bhadrakālī.[17] All this, however, confounds the role and position of Charpaṭ—an historical Siddha, an alchemist, and a tantric.

The precise historicity of Charpaṭnāth, like other Siddha cultic figures, is doubtful. He is projected as the disciple of Jālandharanāth and a preceptor of Ḍumari and Mīnapa, as well a pupil of a particular alchemist, Vyāli-pa. Historically, his position oscillates between the Tibetan Vajrayāni-Siddhas and the Kānaphaṭā Jogīs—the Nāth-Siddhas of Gorakṣanāth and Matsyendranāth, belonging to *Aī-panth* (one of the twelve sects associated with the Nāths). He is variously named: Carapaṭipāda, Carapatri, Carya-ḍi-pa and C(K)a-rba-bi-pa.[18] It is pertinent to mention here the accounts of two Tibetan travellers, who may have a bearing on the chronology of Charpaṭ, of the 13th century: rGod-tshaṅ-pa (1189–1258 CE) and his disciple, Orgyan-pa (1230–1309 CE).[19] rGod-tshaṅ-pa visited Spiti particularly to meet the great Siddha (*grub-thob chen-po*) named Kha-rag-pa. Significantly, he also visited Chambā from Lahul after crossing the Kugtī pass. There-

[17] The insertion of Bhadrakālī in the genealogical record is significant on many counts. The goddess (as *Jayadurgā*) is worshipped particularly to gain victory in war, which the rulers of Chambā were in desperate need of in the 16–17th centuries. As she could only be worshipped by the non-Brāhmaṇas (*pāraśavaḥ*), the Jogīs, who practiced tantric rituals, became its priests. The Śaivite character of these priests was textually manipulated and they were known as *pāraśaivā* (literally, the foremost worshipper of Śiva): the title of those who have been consecrated as the officiants of the goddess. Alexis Sanderson, "Atharvavedins in Tantric Territory: The Āṅgirasakalpa Texts of the Oriya Paippalāadins and their Connection with the Trika and the Kālīkula (With critical editions of the Parājapavidhi', the Parāmantravidhi, and the *Bhadrakālīmantra vidhiprakaraṇ)," *The Atharvaveda and its Paippalāda Śākhā: Historical and Philological Papers on a Vedic Tradition*, eds. Arlo Griffiths and Annette Schmiedchen, Aachen, 2007, p. 277, fn. 142.

[18] Tārānāth, *The History of Buddhism in India*, tr. Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1980, p. 153. Also, fn. 29.

[19] Laxman S. Thakur, *Buddhism in the Western Himalaya: A Study of the Tabo Monastery*, Delhi, 2001, pp. 47–48.

after, he visited Kāngrā, the seat of Jvālāmukhī (*Dza-va-la-mu-gi*)—the goddess that offered Siddhīs as Siddhulā. The goddess was also associated with the Nāth ascetics and the pīṭha (the seat of the goddess) was famed for its sulphur springs. As we shall analyse later, sulphur was associated with the goddess and played a significant part in the tantric haṭha-yogic praxis.[20] Orgyan similarly followed his gurū to Kāngrā, to meditate and offer prayers.

In the little known couplets that are attributed to Charpaṭnāth, he ridicules the Jogī attire, the Nāth tradition of splitting-ears, and questions their ways to achieve salvation. He emphasises the tradition and role of '*Sata-Guru*' or 'the True Preceptor', like the Nāth/Mahā-Siddha schools; cautions against tantrics; he is concerned with disease; he is passionate about health/healthy body; he is an alchemist. He allegedly calls himself the '*ātmā-Jogī*'—the one who has realised the 'Soul' or 'Self' by perfecting yogic-alchemical techniques, emphasising control over 'sense-organs' and 'mind'.[21] Alternatively, the '*ātmā-Jogī*' is an

[20] Laxman Thakur opines that they visited the shrine of Vajreśvarī in Kāngrā and wrongly ascribed it as *Dza-va-la-mu-gi*. I think that this type of omission by a practitioner is not possible. Moreover, these people were looking for the technique of calibrating mercury in sulphur, which the seat of Vajreśvarī did not offer. I am of the firm opinion that the shrine of Vajreśvarī did not exist at this time, as it is only towards the beginning of the 16th century that we start getting evidence about its existence, while all early chronicles associated with the Tughlaqs (14th century) or Akbar (16th century) write about Jvālāmukhī. See also, Mahesh Sharma, "Shaktism in Himachal," *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, ed. J. S. Grewal, Vol. VII part 2, Delhi, 2006, pp. 95–105; "Perspectives on the Himalayan Goddess: History, Myth and Practice," *Research Bulletin: VVRI*, 4&5, 2006, pp. 349–76.

[21] Virnath, *Śrī Nāth Carita*, Hardwar, 1988; p. 333; T. R. Punja, *Śaiva Mata aur Lokavaṇī*, Delhi, p. 100; also by Mohan Singh, based on a manuscript from Lahore, *Gorakhnath and Medieval Hindu Mysticism*, Lahore, 1937; Kieth Dowson reckons that he is same as Carparipā, the disciple of Jālandharanāth, and a preceptor of Dumapa as well Mīnapa, hailing from eastern India, from Magadha, *Masters of Mahamudra: Songs and Histories of the Eighty-Four Buddhist Siddhas*, Albany, 1985, pp. 309–12; also the same tradition in Abhayadatta, *Caturśīti-siddha-pravṛtti or Buddha's Lions: The Lives of the Eighty-Four Siddhas*, tr. J. B. Robinson, Berkeley, 1979, pp. 205–07; H. P. Dwivedi, *Nāth Sampradaya*, Varanasi, 1966. David G. White calls him an alchemist, recognising the widespread provenance of his writings, some housed in Jodhpur, and to an allusion made to him in Chambā, *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India*, Chicago, 1996. Similarly, Ronald M. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, New York, 2002, too places him in the tenth century Chambā, along with the myth of the coming of the 84 Siddhas in Bhramaur, relying on the genealogy translated by Vogel and *History of Panjab Hill States*, by Hutchison and Vogel; as does K. P. Sharma, *Manimahesh: Chamba Kailash*, Delhi, 2001. The writings of Charpaṭi also are of little help as they are located within the wider Nāth-Siddha tradition, a hagiographic corpus in Sanskrit, and vernacular languages—the themes cutting across, or blurring, the sectarian lines.



Figure 2.6 Rampaging Mahākālī: emaciated but radiant, who wears the garland of skull. Energetic high relief, which is indeed unique, that depicts the goddess holding the sword-khadaga in her right-top-hand and a scimitar-kaṭāri in the right-bottom. She 'laughs' (parihāsa) at her enemies, the evil-demons, (the hand position, left-top), and is adorned as the victorious-Durgā (Jaya-Durgā) in complete battle armour (Baijnāth Temple, 1204 CE).

adept who has realised the *kuṇḍalinī* process—one who has attained the highest cognitive-spiritual sphere, the *Brahmarandhra*.[22] At the same time, an insignificant *stotra*—the hymn of praise—from Nepal, allegedly composed by Charpaṭ (*Carpaṭīstutīpaṇī*) alludes to certain magical practices that he was dexterous in, firmly placing him within the larger Nāth-Siddha tradition. These would include 'levitation': '*añjanagutikāpādukasiddhi*' (the book of power to fly);[23] just as the tales of Lāmā Tārānāth, composed towards the end of the sixteenth century, inform us that he learnt the art of making "quicksilver elixir" from Vyāli, who also taught him the transmutation of base metals into gold.[24] A drive for such exoteric transmutation of metals has an esoteric spiritual parallel as well. In the words of Svoboda (writing for his Aghori guru, Vimalānanda), there is a corresponding metamorphosis of the "base metal of human consciousness into the gold of enlightenment, a state of unlimited consciousness."[25]

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[22] This refers to the process of taking the kuṇḍalinī, the serpent force seated near anus, through six cakras or psycho-mystical points seated in body. The lowest, in the hierarchy of progression, is called *Mulādhāra* and the highest is *Brahmarandhra*—symbolically depicted as a Lotus with thousand petals. Each cakra has its designated deity, the Śakti. See, P. C. Bagchi, ed., *Kaulajñānananirṇaya and some Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendra*, Calcutta, 1934, Vs. 14.15a onwards; or for Kashmir, *The Kulacūḍāmaṇi Tantra*, 1.34 onwards; see a *Vāmakeśvara Tantra*, Ch I&II, for cakra ritual and language-yantra associations.

The *Kubjikā Upaniṣad*, emphasizes the control of breath (with the mantra: *haṃ-sa*), as underscored later in the Nāth tradition, to power the sleeping Kuṇḍalinī through these cakras to finally unite with supreme Śiva in the *Brahmarandhra.* Teun Goudriaan and Jan A. Schoterman, ed. tr., *The Kubjikā Upaniṣad,* Groningen, 1994, 7.29, 7.62.

[23] Giuseppe Tucci, "Animadversiones Indicae," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXVI, 1, 1930, p. 139. He, however, accepts the tenth century dating and hopes to work out the chronology of others from this point of reference.

Levitation was a particular Siddhī that was popular in the Himachal hills in the eighteenth century at least, as we know of Sidh Sen, the ruler of Manḍī, who was one of the practitioners and claimed success. There is a painted tradition to this effect as well. See, Kirandeep Gill, "Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi," M. Phil. Dissertation, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1989.

[24] Lāmā Tārānāth, *Mystic Tales of Lāmā Tārānāth: A Religio-Sociological History of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, (tr. from German, Edelstein-mine, tr. Gruenwedel, 1914) Tr. Bhupendranath Dutta, Calcutta, 1944.

[25] Robert E. Svoboda, *Aghora: At the Left Hand of God*, 1986, Delhi, 2007, p. 9.

There are three unknown (?) texts attributed to Charpaṭ in the Tibetan *bsTan-'gyur*: 1) *Caturbhūta-bhavābhivāsana-krama-nāma*; 2) *Āryāvalokiteśvarasya carpaṭiracita-stotra*; 3) *Sarva-siddhi-kara-nāma*.[26] More popular, however, are the vernacular couplets in the north Indian dialects attributed to Charpaṭnāth. Some of his couplets, compiled in Samvat 1711 (1654 CE) manuscript from Lahore, are produced below (in my translation), to provide an idea about the ambiguous/multifarious character of Charpaṭ and his lore:[27]

Becoming externalist!
I will not set out.
Why should I get my ears pierced?
I will not smear the ash
That wears out.
Damned, if I roll in ash like a donkey!
I will not sport Śeli around my neck,
Nor the dear skin.
Patched garment,
I will not wear, which is worn out.
I shall not worship the begging vessel,
Nor carry the staff;
I will not go begging like a dog,
Nor blow the horn before evening prayer.
I will not go from door to door,
Lighting smoke!
I do not want to be called the Jogī of Appearance,
Charpaṭnāth is the Jogī
Who has realised the Soul.
(Charpaṭnāth is the 'one' who can see into the 'Soul'.) (6)

The renouncer's play is fearless!
His intellect rests upon the firm Belief.
He has won over Mind; reined in desires;

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[26] *bsTan-'gyur*, which lists Charpaṭi at No. 64, mentions his works, No. 3253, 3546, and 5098, in *Buddha's Lions: The Lives of the Eighty-Four Siddhas*, tr. J. B. Robinson, Berkeley, 1979, p. 304.

[27] I have translated all these verses, attributed to Charpaṭi, from the Manuscript No. 512, Hafiz-ul-Ulum, private collection, Lahore, dated S 1711 (1654 CE), by Mohan Singh who provides their text in Devanāgarī script in: *Gorakh Nath and Medieval Hindu Mysticism (including text and translation of Machhendra—Gorakh goshti; Padas and shlokas of gorakh; Shlokas of Charpatnath)*, Lahore, 1937, pp. 20–23. Also see, the English translation of some of the verses by Singh, pp. 68–71. Compare these with the *Kartabhaja* sectarian songs sung in Bengal, Hugh B. Urban, *The Economics of Ecstasy: Tantra, Secrecy and Power in Colonial Bengal*, New York, 2001.

Continence is his way of life.
He has pierced the ears of awareness
Contemplating Knowledge.
Charpaṭ says this is the Siddha doctrine. (5)

Wandering in forest, eating roots and berries,
Austerity in water, wasting Time
In useless attachments;
Vigour of fire, wasted by thoughts
Of self-preservation;
The Self, atrophied by haṭha-yogic rigour.
Says Charpaṭ, one without Will over Mind,
Speaks like this. (4)

Some wear ochre-robes,
Some are robe-less.
Some mark the forehead; wear sacred-thread;
Dangle long matted-hair.
Some are Faqirs; some Munīs;
Some, split-eared Kānaphaṭās.
When the deathly storm shall blow,
Will blow away their external robes!
Those, who do not understand the Reverse Flow,
Charpaṭ ridicules them as Clowns with stomachs./
(Charpaṭ calls them as mere bread earners.) (13)

Listen, O respected! O truthful!
How to live in this world.
See with your eyes, Hear with your ears,
But, do not open your mouth.
A good listener to garrulous; humble to an arrogant;
A good disciple to guru.
Be steadfast to this advice,
Keep your Self to your Mind;
Reveal no secrets; speak sweet:
The antagonist may be Fire,
You, an adept, always Water be.
The world is a garden full of thorns,
Tread cautiously.
Charpaṭ says, listen O Siddhas!
Don't be stubborn in performing austerities.
Understand, O Knowledgeable,
That which is mis-said:
If one is a disciple, it is a station of profit.
If one is a guru, it is a position of loss.
If the 'interior' is dirty, the 'exterior' is dirty too,
Why do you forget this, O Charpaṭ, the blind? (SS.2)

According to the tradition explicated by Briggs, the followers of Āī sect, in which Charpaṭ is placed, are related to Gorakṣanāth through his disciple Bimlā Devi, affectionately called Āī, 'the mother'. Their names therefore end with 'āi'. Hence, Charpaṭ would be Charpaṭāi (Charpaṭi), if we were to place his name according to the norms of Āī sectarians. The suffix 'nāth' was accepted much later in this sect.[28] The sectarians believe in the goddess particle as the signifier of Sadāśiva. In other words, it is only by grasping and then transcending the material, signified by the goddess-śakti, that it is possible to realise the supreme reality, the Sadāśiva. Thus goddess, in her mother form, is the supreme motif for the Āī sectarians, which also explains why the Jogīs of Chambā worshipped Mahākālī in the portal of Charpaṭ. It is, therefore, interesting to observe that the *Haṭhayoga-Pradīpikā* associates him with Manthanabhairava,[29] just as he is associated with Mahākāla in the *Śābara Tantra*.[30] These associations are usually in a dyadic relationship with the forms of Kālī or *Kālīkrama*; a pointer to the type of rituals practiced by the adepts. The popular legend from Chambā obliquely refers to such practices. According to this legend, the king, Sāhilla Varman, suspected an unacceptable relationship between the Siddha and his daughter Campāvatī, who was his disciple. He once followed them to prove his suspicion. The legend has that the 'daughter' (the goddess incarnate) was enraged, so much so that she disappeared from the earthly existence. We know that the temple of Campāvatī was erected in her honour, housing the demon slaying goddess, Mahīṣamardinī.[31] The relationship is at best the cover for the tantric ritual (*sādhanā*-worship) that these Siddhas believed in. Both these linkages, the Bhairava and with Campāvatī, tacitly explain why his legates are associated with Mahākālī or Bhadrakālī. Does this association have any bearing on historical Charpaṭ, even though his alleged ambiguous writings would conveniently associate him with any of the stated categories? Is it the intentionally created ambiguity?

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[28] Briggs, *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Jogis*, Delhi, 1982 (Reprint), pp. 67–68.

[29] *The Haṭhayoga Pradīpikā of Atmā Rāma*, tr. Pancham Singh, New Delhi, 1915. It associates Charpaṭi, along with Siddhībuddha, Kanthaḍī, Korāṇṭaka, Surananda and Siddhīpāda, with Manthanabhairava (vs 6), p. 17.

[30] Sashibhushan Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, 1956, Calcutta, 1962 (2nd revised edn.), He is one of the twelve initiators and converters as per the list provided in *Śābara Tantra* and quoted in *Gorakṣa Siddhanta Samgraha*, pp. 206–07.

[31] Hutchison and Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, p. 285.

Is it the famed double-speak (*sandhā-bhāṣā*) that is associated with the Siddhas.[32]

> Fearless, unaccompanied, and firm in resolve,
> Surmounting insults or fame, winning over the 'Senses';
> Mind consumed by unmitigated Awareness,
> (Charpaṭ) proffers this as the path to Liberation (*Siddhī*).
>
> O Avadhūta! Seal the main door
> And play there with the Sixty-Four.
> Fever vanishes, disease withers away,
> Charpaṭ marvels the ways of 'Union'.
>
> Tie it firmly, seal and secure!
> The Sun rules above, the Moon below;
> On the new-moon night, Charpaṭ sips the nectar,
> Neither the oil dries up
> Nor the lamp blows off.[33]

Be that as it may, there are many hues to Charpaṭ—from his association with the Chambā state formation to being the foremost in the Nāth/Mahā Siddha or tantric and alchemical traditions. However, by the 16th century, he is popular and all the major compilations or texts mention him, although there is no reference about him prior to the twelfth century.[34] Perhaps, the efflorescence of Charpaṭ is somewhere in between, particularly in north India where he finds mention, among

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[32] We know of tantrics who would create such ambiguities to escape public sanction. For instance, *Kulacūḍāmaṇi Tantra* advises the adept to behave like a Vaiṣṇava, even though espousing Kaula precepts in heart, Ch 1. For the need of secrecy due to ritual necessity and public ire, perhaps, the Tantric texts also created this intentional language (*sandhā-bhāṣā*) that carried different meaning, A. Bharati, "Intentional Language in the Tantras," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 81, 3, 1961, pp. 261–270.

[33] Manuscript from the Panjab University, Lahore, no. 5661 (not traceable now), originally in Gurmukhī script. Mohan Singh provides the text in the Devanāgarī script in: *Gorakh Nath and Medieval Hindu Mysticism*, p. 22. (My translation, like all other verses of Charpaṭ). The variant verses in Devanāgarī are published as "*Atha Charpaṭjī kī Sabadī*," in Kalyani Mallik, *Siddha Sidhanta-Padhati and Other Works of the Nātha Yogīs*, Poona, 1954, pp. 72–79.

[34] The prominent omission is in the *Lha-Khang* inscription, orthographically attributed to the 11–12th century by Francke, containing the names of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Naropa, Tilopa, Luhipa, Dharmakīrtī and Śāntīpa. This is reflective of the chronology as far as Charpaṭipa is concerned, for he finds mention in the later *grub-thob* or the *Tibetan book of Siddhas*, A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, Archaeological Survey of India, XXXVII, Delhi, 1975 (rep), p. 91.

other texts, in the *Gurū Granth* (*Ādī Granth*), which was compiled around 1604 CE.[35]

On the other hand, the *Kaula-Pañca-Dharma* had its link with the Āgamic corpus and different Kaula groups (each of them a sacral lineage, hence *Kula*)[36] had a specific place of their own in the greater Śaivite canon, usually as the members of *Bhairavastotras*. Their rites, to put it simplistically, were private (tantric) and were performed in lonely places, like forests. A variant of Kashmiri Śaivism that was more widely recognised after the 10th century, the Tṛkha Kaula, used the ritual to awaken and carry forward the serpentine force, the *kuṇḍalinī*, by the way that would "delight the senses and mind." The *kuṇḍalinī* progresses by arousing the dormant psycho-spiritual points located in the body called *cakras*, leading to the bonding of the opposites, the fusion of the male-female polarities, the Śiva-Śakti, in the head.[37] In other words, as *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* defines, *Kula* was the "embodied

[35] He is mentioned in the celebrated debate between the Siddhas and Nānak, a textual strategy used to supplant and legitimate the new 'religious' ethos'. 'Sidh Gośṭhī'—Conversations with the Siddhas: Section 22, Rāga Rāmakalī/63/ First Mahl, Śaloka 3; 78 First Mahl, Śaloka 5. Also, Piar Singh, *Guru Nanak Siddha Goshti (With a Comprehensive Introduction Text [Trilingual] Translation & Annotations)*, Amritsar, 1996, pp. 22, 53, He says that only Gorakh and Charpaṭ are named among the Siddhas. He also informs that this portion was probably included by the third guru. Though the only verse bearing Charpaṭ's name is in p. 73, Jodh Singh refers to the mention made by Bhāī Gurdās to the dialogue between Guru Nanak and Charpaṭnāth at Achal Baṭālā, in modern Panjab in the first half of the sixteenth century. The Siddhas ask questions to which the Guru answers in deferential terms to Charpaṭi, while he is dismissive towards other Siddhas. This is an oblique reference to the status and stature of Charpaṭi in the contemporaneous milieu. Dr Jodh Singh, *The Religious Philosophy of Guru Nanak*, Varanasi, 1983, pp. 22, 24, 28, 34, 71–75, 81–83.

[36] This fact is slightly recognised that all Kaulas were organised as different lineages associated to a particular *mātṛkā*, the goddess, called *kulaja*. These *kulajas* would be exogamic units and people contracted marriages within the Kaula practitioners of different *kuluja* clans. Yet caste and *gotra-pravara* rules applied along with this, perhaps to maintain the larger social norms. It is interesting to note that Brahmāṇī is the tutelary deity of Brahmapurā, even though the Kula Devī (the goddess of the royal lineage) of Chamba royal household is Bhadrakālī. We must remember that Brāhmaṇī is the early *mātṛkā*: the terrible power of the goddess that helped in annihilation of the foes and cleaning up of the battleground.

Such lineages were common in Bengal as well, Kumkum Chatterjee, "Bengal Communities, Kings and Chronicles: The Kulagranthas," *Studies in History* 2005; 21; 174–213; though given the colour of caste organisation and elitism, and not tantric influence, in medieval Bengal.

[37] For further details see the second part of M. S. G. Dyczkowski, *The Canon of the Saivagama and the Kubjika Tantra of the Western Kaula Tradition*, Delhi, 1989.

cosmos"[38] that unites things of the same 'order'. It therefore dispels the "sense of plurality," which may be internally achieved by the fusion of the distinction perceived in the knower, the knowledge and the object of knowledge. The eastern tantric Siddha tradition therefore defines the Kula as, "the state in which the mind and the sight are united, the sense-organs lose their individuality, śakti (power) becomes identical with the jīva (being) and the sight merges into the object to be visualised."[39] Yet, the tenth century master, Abhinavagupta, cultured the distinction between the Kaulika and haṭha-yogic praxis: the third path,[40] called *Anuttara*, pointed out by *Parātriṃśika* as a path of Kaulika. It brings about the identity of the insentient body, etc., with the Universal Consciousness (*kaulikaḥ jaḍasya dehādeśka rūpatāsampādakaḥ agnīrivāyasapiṇḍasyāgnitopa-pādakaḥ*) just as the "fire brings about the identity of an iron ball itself."[41] It consists in the practice of *rājayoga*, the contemplation on '*Aham*'—the mantra that embodies both Śaiva and Śākta principles as a 'Non-Dual' whole. This *Parā*—the transcendent force, called *Anuttara Parākṛyā* or the 'supreme reality' in Abhinava's *Vivarṇa*, is the basic exposition of the Tṛkha system—is the synthesis of the earlier triadic Śaiva praxis.[42] Simply put, the Kaula movement, "focuses its attention in various ways on the mystical identity of Śiva as the Absolute Reality, the Goddess as Universal Energy inseparable from Śiva, and the worshipper's Self."[43]

At a less profound level, however, 'possession' (homologous to the spirit-possession) was the characteristic feature of the Kaula rites—the conditioning of the body as a ritually consecrated space for the deity to

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[38] P. E. Muller-Ortega, *The Triadic Heart of Śiva: Kaula Tantricism of Abhinavagupta in the Non-dual Shaivism of Kashmir*, Albany, 1989, Ch. 5.

[39] P. C. Bagchi, ed., *Kaulajñānananirṇaya and some Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendra*, Calcutta, 1934, pp. 37–38.

[40] The main two emancipatory schools were: 1. of knowledge, followed by the Śaiva, Vedāntists and Sāṁkhyas; 2. of action, by those of Pātañjala Yoga, Haṭha-Yogins and Mīmāṃsakas.

[41] K. C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta: An Historical and Philosophical Study*, Varanasi, Vol. I, 1963 (2nd edn.), in the discussion of *Triṃśuka Vivṛti*, p. 46.

[42] K. C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta: An Historical and Philosophical Study*, pp. 45–47; Also; Also, Jayadeva Singh, tr., *Abhinavagupta: A Trident of Wisdom: Translation of Parātrīśikā Vivaraṇa,* Albany, 1989; For a succinct narrative on Kaul Tantra rituals and positions, D. G. White, *Kiss of the Yoginī: "Tantric Sex" in the South Asian Contexts*, Chicago, 2003.

[43] Teun Goudriaan and Jan A. Schoterman, ed. tr., *The Kubjikā Upaniṣad*, Groningen, 1994, p. 5.

enter and interact by the use of magical formulas or mantras. The Jogīs were also the 'faith-healers' (shamans), who could wilfully enter and cure such "possession syndromes."[44] The *Kaula* influence, moreover, extended to the social sphere—both in the sense of determination of, or extension from—that may be gleaned in the family organisation as well. The family lineages in Chambā and Kāngrā were structured around the principle of *Kulaja*, a particular goddess who was the tutelary deity, and was obviously associated with a particular Bhairava. The *Kulaja*, in turn, maps the ritual constituency associated with a particular Kula-clan or Śākta/Bhairava principle. This demanded a different type of priestly agency, which is indicative of the settlement and migration pattern of the Brāhmaṇas and ascetic-monastic orders, one of them being the legates of Charpaṭnāth.[45]

The Priests of Charpaṭnāth: Succession and Possession

Chambā had a vigorous tradition of miniature painting, yet we do not know of even a single portrait of the Jogī-priests of Charpaṭ. Chambā had a dynamic tradition of sculpture, in both stone and bronze, but not even a single sculpture of the Nāth-Jogīs has been found to date. The singular early figure of a Siddha-Yogī is a late 14th and early 15th century stone sculpture, which is housed in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chambā. That this stylized sculpture has any relationship with the present priests of Charpaṭ is unlikely, except broadly that they belong to the same ascetic tradition and the figure is seemingly a tantric practitioner. In all likelihood, it is modelled on one of the itinerant monks who briefly visited Chambā around this time.[46]

[44] The possessions could be varied and the forces operating could be malevolent or benevolent. The body, irrespective of the nature of possession, would always be a contested site. For possession and Chambā variant, see Mahesh Sharma, *The Realm of Faith*, p. 156.

[45] This, however, could take a different shape and is understood differently today. Yet the strong association of the Nāth-Jogīs is evident from the daily rituals associated with an 'iconic' Siddha in the courtyard of the houses and its particular propitiations in the life cycle rituals, like *upanayana*-sacred thread ceremony or marriage. For the life cycle rituals and Siddhas, see J. C. Campbell, *Saints and Householders: A Study of Hindu Ritual and Myth among Kangra Rajputs*, Kathmandu, 1976.

[46] Ohri and Khanna, ed., *A Western Himalayan Kingdom of Chamba*, plate 41. The authors place it in the thirteenth century.

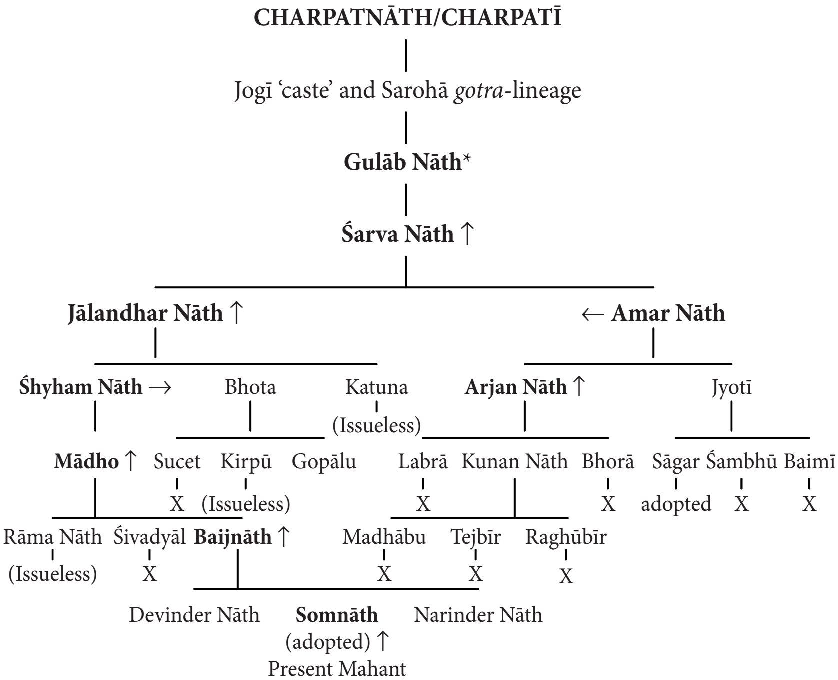
There are, however, carvings of the Nāth-Siddha figures in the eighteenth century shrine of the goddess at Devī-Koṭhi (see chapter 4.I), in the periphery of the Chambā state. Such stray and widespread occurrences, nevertheless, bear testimony to their influence and popularity. That the town of Chambā, the cultural centre and the state capital, is particularly silent about the Jogīs of Charpaṭ is difficult to understand.

There is, moreover, a vivid hagiographic tradition about Charpaṭ, but there is virtually no information about the priests of the portal of Charpaṭ, except the documents we are presenting in this selection (chapter 4). In a way, these Jogīs blend into the amorphous tradition of the Nāth householder practitioners; busy in regulating and manipulating the temporal; buried in the tomb-*samādhī* at the end of their lives, which in most cases remain anonymous, only perhaps remembered by the kin or family members during special occasions and ceremonials as a part of the larger tradition of ancestral worship. I am afraid that one cannot even say that these Jogīs of Charpaṭi attained *mokṣa* or salvation in death, and much less that they ever achieved the most sought after Siddhīs or powers. It is in this context of general 'invisibility' of their 'past' that the tangible signs—as in their property, shrine and practices—become significant signposts to understand their relationship with the state and the 'congregation'.

The Genealogical Table of the Jogīs of Charpaṭnāth at Chambā

The following *shajrā-nasab* or the genealogical table was attached, along with the copy of the 'ladder of succession' to prove inheritance, in the *misl-hāqiyāh* or the-register-of-land-titles, of the revenue village (*mohāl*) Chambā, vide *Khāttā* No. 892/ *Khataunī* No. 1323 (revenue account numbers) in the process of the final settlement of Chambā in 1957.

The succession in the *misl-hāqiyāh* begins with Gulāb Nāth. The claims made prior to that are mythical and unsubstantiated entries. From document I.3, it is clear that the grant made to Jogī Gulāb Nāth was renewed in 1783 CE, as was perhaps done earlier also. According to the *tanqih* no. 522 provided along with the table, they belonged to the Sarohā *gotra*-clan and to the Jogī caste. The genealogical table of Gulāb Nāth's inheritors and successors to the seat of Charpaṭ (as claimed by the head of the seat at that point of time and acceded to by the revenue-administration, perhaps after authenticating their antecedents), based on the *jāmābandī* or land-settlement records, is as follows:



References:
* This stands for the first known Jogī of the portal mentioned in our records.
1. Names in the 'bold' suggest succession and the arrows, the path of succession to the *gaddī* or the seat of Charpatnāth.
2. X below the name suggests no succession, but does not suggest any progeny.
   i. The succession was patrilineal and hence no girl children, if any, are mentioned in the genealogy.
   ii. There is a clear indication of issue-less, thereby meaning no live progeny.
   iii. The succession could be passed on by the means of adoption.

Diagram 2.1 The Genealogical Table of the Mahants of Charpaṭnāth

Contested Succession to the Portal of Charpaṭnāth based on their Documents

The succession to the seat of 'Pīr-Jogī' or the Mahant of the portal of Charpaṭnāth is slightly different, if we compare the documents reproduced with the familial succession roll provided by the present Jogīs and accepted by the revenue-administration of Chambā at the time of land-settlement. It must also be understood that the familial succession and genealogy provided by the settlement record, though tacitly legitimising the claims of the successive Mahants to the present, was a means of ascertaining the occupancy of the property. This being the first settlement, the title of property was vested on such grounds. However,



Figure 2.7 Mahant Som Nāth inside the portal of Charpaṭ (photographed in 2004)

no contestation has come to our knowledge, as far as the property is concerned, after the settlement award was made. Nevertheless, by this time the property of 'the seat' was already reduced, owing to the forced occupation by other people and, perhaps, by the collaterals at other places. Moreover, the court of Chambā was also intervening in recognising or installing the Mahant to the seat in the 1850s, confirming our suspicion that all was not well with the management of this shrine and that there was bitterness within the Jogī fraternity over the issue of Mahantship of this portal. The following table compares the succession to the seat of Charpaṭnāth based on the documents reproduced in this collection.

Table 2.1 The succession to the seat of Charpaṭnāth based on documents reproduced in this selection

The Mahant	*Year of grant* (CE)	*Document* (No.)	*Remarks*
Gulāb Nāth	1783	I.1	In both the records he is the first to get the grant, though it is a renewal grant.
Jwālā Nāth	1827	I.4	He is referred to as the grandson of Gulāb Nāth, perhaps, indicating the linear descent.

Table 2.1 (*cont.*)

The Mahant	*Year of grant* (CE)	*Document* (No.)	*Remarks*
Amar Nāth (?)	1854	I.5	In the document I.5, issued in 1854, the grant is in the name of Amar Nāth Jwālā Nāth. Perhaps, the name of Amar Nāth was attached as the co-sharer of the grant, as contested claims must have come to the fore, though the Mahantship continued with Jwālā Nāth. It should be noted that Jwālā Nāth's name is not only omitted from the list of Mahants, but is not even mentioned as the son of Amar Nāth in the genealogy of succession attached to the land-settlement records.
Arjan Nāth	1850	I.9	This is the period when, perhaps, the conflict among the collateral branch (as a family of householders or as the sacred-family, with a common guru) came to the forefront. While there is a record of Amar Nāth Jwālā Nāth, there is a note that Pīr Arjan Nāth, who died in 1854, does not return the property (a cooking utensil) of the temple, borrowed in 1850 (documents VIII and IX). This is also the time when the Śankarite Daśanāmīs (Girī sub-sect) got associated with the Nāth shrine, perhaps at the behest of the Rājā of the Chambā (Document VIII). Arjan Nāth died in 1854 (document I.9), when Inder Gīr was the priest-pujārī of the portal.
Ratna Nāth	1854	I.10	It is clearly mentioned that he was earlier the Jogī of the parganā of Pihūr and after the death of Arjan Nāth (on the eighth of Vaiśākha), he was made the Pīr or Mahant of Charpaṭ. This was, perhaps, to dethrone the Jogīs of Chambā who had been earlier continuing as the priests of Charpaṭ. At stake were the grants that influenced the decision. Thus, within nine days of the assumption of the Mahantship (on the 17th of Vaiśākha), new appointments were made for the collection of grains from different parganās (document I.10).
Śyāma	1871	II.7	Property dispute with Jhīrs, who were awarded the occupancy of a house plot for house after paying and fine, perhaps resulting in the reduced title of the house and portal of Charpaṭ at Chambā between 1888–1907 CE as per the detail provided in the Document I.7.
Mādho	1916	V.1	Initiated various court cases to secure the title.
Baijnāth	1954		Settlement Record Statement Signed
Som Nāth	1993		The present Mahant

The succession, compared in both the records, works out to be as:

Table 2.2 Succession of the Mahants: A comparison

Documents	*Settlement Record*
1. Gulāb Nāth	1. Gulāb Nāth
2. Jwālā Nāth	2. Śarva Nāth
3. Arjan Nāth	3. Jālandhar Nāth
4. Amar Nāth?	4. Amar Nāth
5. Ratan Nāth	5. Arjan Nāth
6. Śyama	6. Śyama Nāth
7. Mādho	7. Mādho
8. Baijnāth	8. Baijnāth
9. Som Nāth	9. Som Nāth (the present Mahant)

The association of the epithet 'Pīr', independently as well as an hyphenated identity (Pīr-Jogī), with the Jogīs, is not only an indicator of the currency of the term and the milieu, but also the tradition of strong mutual borrowing between the Sufis and the Nāth-Siddhas, particularly those associated with Aī-panth, the sub-sect that Charpaṭnāth was associated with. The alchemical practices that these Muslim-ascetics (*dervīśa*) brought with them from Arabia (particularly Persia), including the alchemy of Mercury and the formula to turn the base metals into gold, along with a corresponding spiritual process of realising the purest (the gold) seated within one's self (the psyche), provided a common ground for learning and sharing. This fact needs to be probed at length (which is beyond the scope of the present book) as alchemical practices and spiritual traditions usually conflated; the alchemists were the only 'practitioners' who were willing to share and experiment with other 'religions'/sectarians—e.g. the early Greeks, the Arabs, Chinese and the Nāth-Jogīs.[47] As Dominique-Sila Khan has demonstrated, there was a strong correspondence between the Nizari-Ismailis and the Nāths, particularly of Aī sub-sect, in Rajasthan. To quote Khan: "The Pīr (the Naziri dāī) emerges as a Hindu yogi or a wandering ascetic, working

[47] The Chinese alchemy came by the maritime route to South India, White, *The Alchemical Body*, p. 53. For basic understanding of the alchemical practices, Marie-Louise von Franz, *Alchemy*, Zurich, 1959; C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, tr. R. F. C. Hull, Princeton, 1993 (8th revised edition); see the second part that deals with alchemical themes.

totally within the forces current at the time."[48] "The forces current at the time" swayed and impacted the contemporary society—the milieu in which they germinated and were sustained. Such is the belief and influence of these alchemical practitioners that even Aurangzeb, the most puritanical of all the Mughal emperors, requested the Jogīs of Jakhbar to send him that "elixir" to restore/rejuvenate his health/spirit. In a letter dated 1072 (1661–62 CE), he (Shāh Ālamgīr) requests Guru Anand Nāth, who is the personified Śiva (*Śiva mūrat*) that:[49]

> In strict confidence:
> The letter sent by your Reverence has been received along with two *tolahs* (about 24 gms) of quicksilver (calcinated mercury—*pārah* and *cūnah*—in quicklime). However, it is not so good as Your Reverence had given us to understand. It is desired (by us) that Your Reverence should carefully treat some more quicksilver and have that sent, without necessary delay…

The epithet 'Pīr' in these documents, though commonly used in other sectarian contexts as well, is, therefore, pregnant with meaning interior to the sect, perhaps indicative of the practice of borrowing and coalescence; of experimentation and conceptualisation.

The Land Record of Charpaṭnāth's Portal at Chambā

The medieval royal genealogy records the establishment of Charpaṭ's sanctuary in the township of Champā, perhaps at the confluence of river Rāvī (analogous to the mythical Sarasvatī and therefore so named in the genealogy) with the streams named Kunāḷā and Śālikā.[50] That some sort of space was created for Charpaṭ at "the extreme end" of the town, as the confluence would represent, is corroborated by the renewal grant of 1784 (see document 4.I.2). However, there is no such record available in Chambā today to substantiate this. What we can see today is a small cenotaph of Charpaṭ, which is built in the temple complex of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa (see figure 1.1). Besides, there is a house-cum-shrine that is occupied by the Jogīs, who are allegedly associated with the Siddha. Similarly, in Brahmaur there are certain claims made to Charpaṭ,

[48] Dominique-Sila Khan, *Conversions and Shifting Identities: Ramdev Pir and the Ismailis in Rajasthan*, Delhi, 1997, p. 221; Aī-panth, 175–208.

[49] B. N. Goswamy and J. S. Grewal, *The Mughals and Jogis of Jakhbar*, Simla, 1967, Document VIII, pp. 121–24.

[50] *Kunālasaṁgame cātra sarasvatyā ca śālikā/*
Saṃgame tānsamānīya Charpaṭeḥ sanstau sthitaḥ//70//
Charpaṭasthanamapyante kārayitvā sutānnava/73a
Vaṁśāvalī, *Antiquities* I, p. 86.



Figure 2.8 Mahant Som Nāth in the front porch of Charpaṭ's shrine. The horns atop are of animals offered for sacrifice; the trident affirms Śaivite leanings; and hanging chains are the emblems of Siddha Charpaṭ (photographed in 2004)

including the temple of Maṇimaheśa, but there is no evidence, literary or archaeological, to corroborate such claims.

The only evidence of the material possession associated with Charpaṭ, apart from the documents that we have produced in chapter 4, is the land-settlement record of Chambā. The first such assessment was made in 1874, when Col. Blair Reid started measuring the cultivated area to make the revenue assessment. It is a well established fact that the landed titles made by the Rājā were accepted and the land was registered in the name of the titleholder. This is significant because the Jogīs of Charpaṭ claimed the plot on which they reside today after recording a statement to this effect. In a statement signed by Baijnāth, son of Mādho Jogī, as *Tankih* No. 522, appended to their property claim under *Khatauni* No. 1323, he contends that:

> two houses along with entrance doorway (*paroḷa*) as well as entire Charpaṭ *mohallā* is their hereditary (*jaddī*) possession, for at least the past hundred years (which comes to 1854). The house (plot) also consists of a courtyard and a cowshed (*sehan va gwār*). It is my personal property and not a joint property (*muśtarīkā*).

The Tehsīldār, or the revenue official looking after the settlement, while awarding the above 'claimed property' to Baijnāth and his successors, observed that it "was owned by the claimant for the past 60 years without interruption." However, the genealogy going back to 1784, when the first grant was made to the Jogīs, was accepted and their title over the plot was upheld.

The record of the land under occupation, allotted to the seat of Charpaṭnāth in the Charpaṭī *Mohallā* (vicinage), the locality near the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and the palace of the Rājā, in Chambā (see Map 2.1), as per the first regular *jāmābandī*-settlement of Chambā in 1957–58 is as:

Table 2.3 Land-settlement record of Charpṭnāth in the Chambā town

Classification or *Khasrā* No. 1265	
Owner Charpaṭ	
	32–6 square yards Double story house (kaccā)
Khasrā No. 1266	
	94–5 sq. yds. Double story house (kaccā)
Khasrā No. 1267	
	61–5 sq. yds. *Sehan* or courtyard
Khasrā No. 1268	
	43–5 sq. yds. Shrine
Khitte or the total number of accounts 4	
	Total area under occupation 232–3 sq. yds.
Annual rent	Rs. 3–81
Cess	Rs. 0–95
Total revenue	Rs. 4–76

The house and the plot, under the occupation of the Jogīs of Charpaṭnāth, must be the reduced one, after the case of Sohnu Jhīr who occupied the land forcefully in the "garden sanctuary" of Charpaṭ. Sohnu built a house in this sanctuary that was contested in the court of the Rājā by the Jogīs, who had hereditary rights over the land. It was, however, finally awarded to him by the Rājā of Chambā, Shyām Singh, in 1888 (Document 4.I.7). He had to pay the stipulated rent and fine for the specified number of years in order to legalise the 'occupation'. Obviously, the clout of Jogīs was waning in the Chambā town, though they continued to enjoy privileges and prerogatives as in the past.

Maṇimaheśa: The making of a Śaivite symbol

Even if the agency of Charpaṭnāth was used to consolidate the post-fifteenth century Chambā state, it was also felt that a popular symbol was required to integrate the diverse populations and beliefs. One reason was that Vaiṣṇavism, the state religion, was largely perceived as an import. An indigenous symbol was therefore required. Charpaṭ was a charismatic figure, but was not a divine entity. Maṇimaheśa (one of the appellations of Śiva), therefore, got prominence, also because of an overwhelming Śaivite constituency in all the segments of the state. In a way, the dichotomy between the official faith, as Vaiṣṇavism was, and the popular faith, in Śaivism, was accepted. It became imperative for the state to uphold the faith of the people as well. Obviously, the state also took pains to integrate the three—Charpaṭ, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva—in some sort of inter-relationship to create a larger spiritual constituency. If we read the *vaṁśāvalī* closely, Charpaṭ allegedly played a vital role in separating the spatial boundaries of the two dominant theological systems. Brahmaur became the land of Śiva while Chambā, the land of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. In a way, in the personage of Charpaṭ, the two opposite faiths/ideologies were reconciled.

Let us look briefly into the history of Śaivism in Chambā in order to realise the significance of the symbol of Maṇimaheśa, the local innovation—perhaps a syncretistic fusion of the Tibetan and Śaivite tradition, which has received little scholarly attention. The creation of this symbol also helps us in comprehending the complex nature of the Charpaṭī legend, which is located on the interstices of the Vajrayāni and Nāth haṭha-yogic tradition, and how various symbols were integrated in his historical personage.

According to the "Nandi Bull Inscription" issued in c. 700 CE, the earliest Śiva temple was built by Merū Varman and the architect Guga

on the "top of Himavant" (snow clad mount), "like unto mount Merū."[51] It has, however, been pointed out that the temple that exists today (Fig. 2.9) is not of the eighth century CE. The present temple was rebuilt, perhaps at the same site, at a later date. Subhashini Aryan ascribes this reconstruction to Sāhilla or Yugākāra Varman by the end of the first millennium CE.[52] Laxman Thakur after comparing the wooden Lakṣaṇā temple and the present temple, both ascribed to Merū Varman, along with the stylistically similar temple of Nṛsimha, which was founded and patronised by Tribhuvan Rekhā, the queen of Yugākāra Varman, in the last half of the tenth century CE,[53] concludes that both are contemporaneous, built on the *Vāstū Śastra* temple plans of 84 squares, probably in the eleventh century.[54]

There is, however, another point of contention that has been scantily addressed. The temple, popularly known as Maṇimaheśa, has not been called so in any of the Chambā inscriptions, *vaṁśāvalī* or the genealogy of the rulers. The earliest known reference to Maṇimaheśa is a 1440 CE inscription (issued 10 Māgh VS 1507?), which itself is supposed to be of later origin than has been ascribed to, in which the seal at the beginning of the inscription starts with an "homage to Śrī Maṇimaheśa." This epigraph was issued to commemorate the "assistance rendered in danger" by Mahārājā Bhoṭa Varman, by providing Rs. 123 per annum, along with 15 1/5 *lahrīs* of land in village Sarago and 2 *lahrīs* in village Gudā, to one Aṭala, as a "religious gift."[55] It is, however, significant to observe that not only there is no contemporary epigraph proclaiming the worship of Maṇimaheśa in Chambā around this time, there is, in fact, no other temple dedicated to Maṇimaheśa in the entire Indian sub-continent. In fact, the appellation 'Maṇimaheśa' does not figure in any Śaivite *stotras*.

In the quest to locate 'big symbols'—archaeological or textual—the obvious connective with the 'small' is, however, ignored. What is not recognised today is the fact that the only known place of worship of Maṇimaheśa is the small shrine housed in the courtyard of the portal of Charpaṭnāth in Chambā. This non-descript eight feet square shrine

[51] *Antiquities*, I, p. 144.

[52] Subhashini Aryan, *Himadari Temples (CE 700–1300)*, Simla, 1994, pp. 4, 112.

[53] *Antiquities*, I, pp. 159–64.

[54] Lakshman Thakur, "A Note on the Nandi Inscription and the Date of Mani Mahesha Temple, Bhramaur," V. C. Ohri and A. N. Khanna, ed. *The Western Himalayan Kingdom*, pp. 155–60.

[55] *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 4, pp. 29–30. J. N. Agrawal, IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 69, pp. 271–2.



Figure 2.9 Maṇimaheśa temple Brahmaur (11th century)

is built in a traditional hill style, with the sanctum containing the phallic (*lingama*) representation of Śiva. This icon, which is worshipped today, is a two-piece stone: the *yoni-pīṭha* (the base), which is not finely hewn and may be dated to about 17th century (?), and the black glossy *lingama*, which is rather of recent origin (figure 2.10a). Inside the shrine are kept the *lingamas* that are not in use, the one with eyes and mouth that is representative of a typical western-Himalayan *pinḍi*, or iconic stone with huge kohl lined eyes (symbolic of life) placed on it (see, the details in figure 2.10b). One can also see some other 'idols' placed in the niche inside the sanctum. Prominent among them is the three feet high statue of the goddess, chiselled in black stone. It is Kālī,



Figure 2.10a The doorway to the shrine of Maṇimaheśa in the portal of Charpaṭ. Tridents on both side of the door are the 'weapon' of Śiva. The chains-sangalas hanging on the walls are associated with Charpaṭ, as the curer of psychic disorders.

the black coloured goddess. The colour black symbolically suggest that 'She' ingests every thing. There are few visitors to this shrine though, which functions as the private portal of the Jogīs of Charpaṭ.

The non-mention of Maṇimaheśa (only two out of 140 published inscriptions in *The Antiquities of Chambā*) is significant, also because it is the primary deity (the most worshipped of the Chambā deities) of Chambā. Śiva perhaps became Maṇimaheśa later. The only known land grant that was made to Maṇimaheśa is the 1618 grant, provided to four Kakaḍa Khatrīs (merchants) for establishing a *sadā vrata* (alms institution to the pilgrims) in the honour of Maṇimaheśa at village Datta Hilsar[56] (Hadsar?). Maṇimaheśa is called as Mahā-Rudra Maṇimaheśa. The epithet Mahā-Rudra, though indicative of the ascetic traditions, is not uncommon and was ascribed, among others, to Candraśekhara, the

[56] "Hadsar Plate of Balabhadra, VS 1675," *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 49, pp. 112–13.



Figure 2.10b The sanctum. The Śīva-lingama with the earlier lingama, placed behind, with eyes and mouth, and is wrapped in red-cloth. Other icons are also visible, the one of goddess that is wrapped in red cloth; the other one with the turbaned head in which is tucked the peacock plume, indicating that it is the 'idol' of Kṛṣṇa

deity of Sāho.[57] By 1760s, some sort of hierarchy and accommodation had been achieved, made imperative by the fact that Śaivism was a major 'belief' in all the western-Himalayan states, particularly Jammu and Kashmir. This point is made abundantly clear in the charter issued by Rāj Singh to Fatehpāl Singh of Bhadarwah, reminding him that the patronage should be extended to (perhaps in the same sequence):[58]

[57] "Gamnji Plate of Balabhadra, VS 1692," *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 61, pp. 132–33.

[58] My translation. Charter No. 19, "Reminder by Rājā Raj Singh to Fatehpal," Rita Sharma, *Ṭākarī*, part II, Language Culture Academy, Simla, 1988, transliteration p. 82.

> Uphold the dharma (worship?) of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇajī, that of Śrī Maṇimaheśajī, and that of Śrī Vās(ū)kīnāgajī. You should not shame either Chambā or Bhadarwah (being of one house) tied as they are in one cord. Chambā shall manage its affairs (in an) orderly (way), on its side (of the boundary) and shall be representative (shall listen to all) and will nurture the dharma at its best.

Of greater significance than the shrine was the annual pilgrimage to Maṇimaheśa. The objective of this pilgrimage, that takes place in the summers, was to take a dip in the glacial lake, the Maṇimaheśa *ḍaḷa* (Fig. 2.11), in the Buḍḍhal valley, about 34 kilometres from Bhramaur township—the ancient capital Brahmapurā. The lake lies in the glacial depression (32° 23' N and 76° 40' E), which is fed by the surrounding snow-clad slopes at the elevation of about 4200 meters (13500 feet), overlooked by Mount Kailāśa (5500mts), which people believe is the abode of Śiva.

The annual sacrifice ritual after the dip in summer, when they crossed the area on their way to Lahul using the treacherous Kugtī pass was popular among the Gaddīs. The Gaddīs are the transhumant shepherds of Bhramaur, who are devout Śaivites. They worship Śiva in his local form as Dhūḍu (akin to and perhaps derived from the Sanskrit *'Dhūrajaṭī'*: the one who is smeared in ash, Śiva). They offer *Nawāḷā* to Śiva, a ceremonial ritual commemorating the coming of Śaivism in Bhramaur. In chapter 1, we wondered if the royal Chambā lineage commenced from this local clan and subsequently sanskritised itself. In the symbol of the pilgrim's dip in the lake of Maṇimaheśa, the aetiology of royal lineage, the dominant Śaiva symbolism and the faith of local people are fused, to create a larger symbol.

The legends of Śiva, popular among the Gaddīs, is a pointer to the propitiation of a local *lokapāla* (lit., the protector of people), as Iśāna is in the "Salhi fountain stone inscription,"[59] the protective deity of the lake (like *Yakṣas*). At some point of time, this "protective deity" was called Maṇimaheśa, and was co-opted within the Śaivite theological system by the beginning of the 15th century. This deity was, over a period, sanskritised and nationalised (first within Chambā, then outside the region) by the myth making process. Thus, Śiva manifests himself to a shepherd near the 'lake', which becomes the symbol and the entire

[59] "Salhi Fountain Insp. of Rajanaka Ludra-Pala of the 27th year of Lalita Varman," *Antiquities*, I, no. 33, pp. 216–24.



Figure 2.11 Maṇimaheśa ḍala (the depleting lake to the left), fed by the water from the glaciers of Mount Kailāśa (now without snow). The construction of stone perimeter is a recent development; as are various Śaivite icons in the centre of this picture, a subtle way of sanskritising the local symbol. (Photographed in 2007 by Gabriella and Oliver, courtesy: Summit-Adventures, Dharamsala)

place his sanctuary; Śiva meets a local shepherd who becomes his porter carrying his salt sac for six months. The 'god' later manifests himself as Trilocana Mahādeva—the one-who-has-three-eyes.[60] The 'universalisation' of the symbol continues: the pilgrimage-Jātrā was declared as a "State level fair by the Himachal Pradesh government" in 1999.[61] This is reflected in the increased pilgrim base, since the pilgrimage is

[60] Mahesh Sharma, *The Realm of Faith*, pp. 159–161; J. H. Newell, *Report on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*, Census of India, 1961, Vol. XX, Part V-B, 1967, pp. 76–77; Christina Noble, *Over the High Passes: A Year in the Himalayas with the Migratory Gaddī Shepherds*, London, 1987, pp. 84–91; also, *Village Survey Devi Koṭhī, Census of India*, 1961, XX, Part VI, No. 4; *Village Survey Bhramaur*, Census of India, 1961, XX, Part VI, No. 5; *Village Survey of Chhatrari*, Census of India, 1961, XX, Part VI, No. 6.

[61] *The Tribune*, September 2, 1999.

popular now in entire northern India, from 30,000 in 1998[62] to 100,000 in 2006, which makes it one of the largest pilgrimage routes in the Himalayas.[63] This is phenomenal, considering that it was not known beyond Chambā and Kāngrā in the 1960s. The process of sanskritisation still continues. Even as I write, the 2007 Maṇimaheśa pilgrimage has just started. It is interesting to read the report filed in the largest North Indian newspaper: [64]

> ...the pilgrims and devotees of Lord Śiva will take their holy dip in Maṇimaheśa Lake at an altitude of 4,170 metres daily. *There is a small image of God Shiva on the margin of small Maṇimaheśa Lake called 'chaumukha'* (four-headed Śiva 'image' and not a *lingama*). Local tribal Bharmour MLA[65] Thakur Singh Bharmouri, who is also the Chairman of the state-level Maṇimaheśa Pilgrimage Committee, said the holy *charī* of Maṇimaheśa would commence from Chambā a week before the holy dip. (Emphasis added)

The name, Maṇimaheśa, itself is quizzical, perhaps indicative of the Nāth-Vajrayāni-Siddha and Pāśupata Śaiva traditions. Let us now consider the Tibetan Buddhist connection. The rocks in the upper reaches of Rāvī valley are dotted with the sacred Tibetan formula inscriptions (Fig. 2.12): '*Oṃ Maṇī Padme Hūṃ*,' as also noted by Vogel.[66] At one time, before 1200 CE, the region was under the Gugge Empire that covered some areas in Kāngrā as well. The modern Baijnāth was then known as Kīragrāma, literally the settlement of the Kīras—the people of Tibetan/Ladakh extraction.[67] It is not incidental that the former territories associated with the Kīras became Śaivite places. Baijnāth also houses a prominent Śiva temple, built and endowed in 1204 CE (One of the temples is the Siddha-Nāth temple, the other called Baijnāth). From the testimony of *Rājataranginī*, it is clear that the Kīras were

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62 Ibid. August 24, 1998.

63 Ibid. September 1, 2006.

64 Ibid. September 4, 2007. The popular literature, written usually by the literate 'Hindu' pilgrims, also promotes such conceptions as, for instance, by Prof. Jawahar Lal Sharma, *Maṇimaheśa kā Vāstavika Rahasya*, Delhi, 1984.

65 An acronym for the elected member of the State Legislative Assembly.

66 A Tibetan insp. of the eleventh or twelfth century, "*Khyun-po-jo-nu-'phags-ba(s)*" or "The august younger prince of the Garuda Lords," along with a note by A. H. Francke, *Anitquities* I, pp. 253–55. Twelfth century also ties with *Rājataranginī*, which mentions Kīras around this time, *Rājataranginī*, VIII: 2767, p. 217.

67 Baijnāth was called Kīragrāma when the inscription was written in 1204 CE, eulogising Siva. Obviously, the Kīras were not entrenched by this time, G. Buhler, "The Two Praśastīs of Baijnāth," *Epigraphia Indica*, I, Calcutta, 1892, pp. 97–118.

defeated by the alliance of Chambā, Kashmir and Dārds, during the reign of Jasata, towards the end of the 12th century.[68] He also acquired the Pāngī custom-house, which was a meeting ground for Yarkhand, Lahuli and Kashmiri traders (See Chapter 1). Significantly, Francke mentions that the Maitrīya-Buddha sculptures were known as 'Chambā' (*Byams-pa*) by the villagers of Mulbe and Drās—both in the Ladakh valley, where Buddhism is still prominent.[69] We may observe that Maitrīya being called 'Chambā' is not incidental, as the word *Byams-pa*, literally means the brahmanic deity, Brahmā, to whom Maitriya is associated with, just like Avalokiteśvara with Śiva, is also the deity after whom the early Chambā kingdom, Brahmapurā, was named.[70] The association of Maitriya and 'Chambā', therefore, is significant to understand the mechanism by which both the traditions impregnated into each other's body and were generally accepted in their hybrid form—without locating the individual traits. Same is the case with the Trilokanāth temple in Udaipur in Chambā/Lahul—now contested as Avalokitā or Trilokī.[71] More interesting is the example of Mañjuśrī, who is akin to Kārtīkaya, with a peacock as his symbol (which is the *vāhana*-vehicle of Kārtīkaya).[72]

One is conscious of the fact that the Tibetan Mahā-Siddha influence in the making of the Maṇimaheśa symbol, for the want of better evidence, is, however, tenuous. The inference that one is trying to draw is that the prefix '*Maṇī*' or 'Mana' (as in early inscriptions) is a later addition, perhaps impregnated by the Tibetan influence: the sacred formula. Let us consider this from another perspective. The lakes and mounts are ubiquitous to the Himalayan topography and are associated with Śiva and Goddess. Most of the names are similar or interchangeable among Tibetan Buddhism, the popular religious practices (Bon-pa

[68] *Rājataranginṇī*, VIII: 2767, p. 217; Also, Tibetan insp. "*Khyun-po-jo-nu-'phags-ba(s)*" or "The august younger prince of the Garuda Lords," along with a note by A. H. Francke, *Anitquities* I, pp. 253–55.

[69] A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, Archaeological Survey of India, XXXVII, Delhi, 1975 (rep), p. 105. He writes, "On the face of this (rock) was sculptured the figure of one of the Tibetan divinities named Chamba." p. 101.

[70] *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, p. 65. The Śāradā inscription in the back of Drās sculpture confirms that this indeed is a Maitrīya.

[71] V. C. Ohri, "Sculpture of Chambā: A Brief Survey," in A *Western Himalayan Kingdom*, pp. 160–70; J. Ph. Vogel, "Triloknath," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 70, 1, 1902, pp. 35–41.

[72] Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome, 1949, Bangkok, 1999 (reprint), p. 216.



Figure 2.12 Early Tibetan Inscription at Goshan, Brahmaur (11th–12th centuries)

or popular Hinduism) and Nāth-Siddhas: with all three sharing similar cultural sensibilities. Therefore, one does find more than one mount-Kailāśa, just as Francke discovered in the 1650 inscription of Hrib-skyes (Śipke, the Gugge capital), that the lake Ma-spang (Mānasarovara) fed by Tise (Kailāśa) was the abode of Nāga Ma-gros. This myth is similar to that associating Maṇimaheśa and Kailung-nāga. Kailung-nāga, the serpent-deity, later on is co-opted within the Śaivite theological system as the deputy (wazīr) of Maṇimaheśa. On crossing the pass, the Gaddīs sacrifice a he-goat to this serpent deity. During the pilgrimage, Maṇimaheśa is similarly propitiated. This does not come as a surprise. These lakes and the mountain passes were the abodes of the *Yakṣasas* and *Yakṣaṇīs*, who were the protective deities. These protective deities demanded sacrifice. The Buddhists heaped stones along these mountain-passes and lakes, called *Mani-gser-mom*, for protection.[73] In addition, the *Māṇī* formula stones were offered. In contrast, the Gaddī shepherds offered goats as sacrifice to this lake, just as they did to the mountain passes. No brahmanic priestly agency was required and the pilgrimage, essentially consisting of sacrifice, was officiated by the ritually low caste

[73] *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, pp. 75, 87.



Figure 2.13 Charpaṭī: The Tibetan Face? (A bronze mask inside the portal of Charpaṭ, which is usually taken out, as to the Maṇimaheśa pilgrimage)

Sippi *celā*-shaman. They also piled up stones, just like the *mani-gser* or *mchod-rtans*. The transhumant, interacting with people across cultures, usually carried with them the cultural traits that facilitated interaction and, therefore, trade. The Gaddī shepherds not only received Śaivite faith from this interaction, but also perhaps, helped in harmonising the two similar traditions.[74]

This association, perhaps, needs to be probed further. Let us locate it in the context of the larger area of the erstwhile Panjāb hills and Kashmir, along with Ladakh and Nepal. This was not only the experi-

[74] Curiously, the shepherds pay obeisance to one *Maṇī-Phaṇī devatā*, the protector of one of the passes as one goes towards Banaghāl from Dharamśālā. I am grateful to Milap Nehria, Summit Trek and Camps, Bhāgasunāga, Dharamśālā, who hails from the Gaddī shepherd tribe, for sharing this with me.

mental area of the early Mahā-Siddhas, but also the area in which the tantra-Siddha tradition developed, chronologically in close simultaneity to the development in the eastern India (Bengal-Assam). In the development of Tibetan tradition, both Kha-che (Kashmir) and the eastern monasteries played a vital role: right from the development of script, to scriptures and temples.[75] The Himachal hills were the cultural routes that carried Ratnabhadra and Śantīrakśita to Tibet. Manḍī or *Zahor*, one of the Chambā's easterly neighbours, is the earliest holy site in the Mahā-Siddha map associated with Padma-Sambhava. Legend has that Padma stayed at Rawalsar (*Rāwal-sār* or the lake of Rāwal, which again pronounces Nāth Siddha association), called *Pa-dma-can* (lotus possessing): the lake-of-'fiery-water' (*rGyal-rabs*). Yet, it is quite unlikely that Padma-Sambhava ever visited Manḍī, even though there are several monasteries in Kinnaur, which are associated with the rÑiṅ-ma-pa order that he founded. Perhaps, the legend of Padma visiting Rawalsar was circulated through the mis-reading of his 1412 CE biography, the *Padma-bka'i-thaṅ*.[76] In Rawalsar, however, apart from the *Maṇī* invocations, was an inscription paying homage to Padma that was noted by Francke:[77]

> Oṃ a huṃ Vadzra guru Padmasiddhī huṃ
> Oṃ Vāgīśvarī (Mañjuśrī) huṃ
> Oṃ Vadzrasatva huṃ.

On the shore of the lake was a Śiva temple (now submerged in the depth of Bhākrā dam). The tradition of Padma-Sambhava, observed Francke in 1910, was vigorous among the Brāhmaṇas as well, who worshipped him as Lomaśa Ṛṣī. The association with 'fiery-water', sulphur, is a common ground for the alchemical practices of these Siddhas of

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[75] King Cha-bla-ma Ye-ges-od of Gugge, for instance, sent 21 men to learn the script and scriptures in Kashmir. Early sources also point out the lack of script due to which Tibet could not respond to the outer world and therefore sent men to India, particularly to Kashmir and Udayana to learn and develop a script that could be used in Tibet, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, I, 50, 62; also *Kaśir* connection, II, pp. 65, 82–83, 86, 89, 108, 115–17, 138–45.

This was a protracted phenomenon. Givseppe Tucci refers to another wave of interaction in the 15–16th century, particularly from Kashmir, which influenced, among others the celebrated *History of Buddhism* by Tārānāth, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, pp. 163–64.

[76] Laxman S. Thakur, *Buddhism in the Western Himalaya*, pp. 40–41. He mentions that the association is based on the mention of Ghandhola in Canto 9 of the *Padma-bka'i-thaṅ*, which was thought to be Ghandhola monastery in Lahul.

[77] *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Appendix III, part II, p. 122.

either tradition. Sulphur, interestingly is referred to as the goddess-particle, just as mercury is the Śaiva-particle. A combination of these (where mercury is calcinated by sulphur) makes a powerful "energy-transmitter," symbolically expressed as the union of the male-female polarity or Śiva-Śakti.[78] It is, therefore, not a coincidence that all the major shrines of goddess and Śiva are located near these water-bodies: springs, lake, etc., called *Kuṇḍa*. Sulphur, incidentally, impacted not only the tantric ritual, but also the Ladakh-Kullu trade. Kullu, the land of *Yoginīs*, exported its abundant sulphur to Ladakh![79] Given the context, the Maṇimaheśa-lake too would be the meeting ground common to both these traditions, the solvent in which the churning of metals, or traditions, took place.

This is, perhaps, not as simple as I make it sound. It involves the complex transformative process of memory, amnesia and association over a period of couple of centuries. Yet, this is also not an uncommon feature of the acculturating myths and cultural transformative words.[80] The harmonisation must have gained currency over a century and a half, for the first homage to Maṇimaheśa is paid in the 1440s inscription, by which time it was popularly known so. The harmonisation is not always after assimilation, or appropriation, but also after confrontation—after the dominance of a 'tradition'/ideology is ensured. For instance, in the later Tibetan tradition particularly, this is reflected in the peripheral position given to these sanskritic figures in the *manḍala*

[78] White, *The Alchemical Body; Kiss of the Yogini*, 72, 80; Indradeo Tripathi, *Rasārṇava* (*Rasārṇava Nāmā Rasatantram*), Baneras, 1978, 18.103. This is only a representative example as references could be multiplied and are huge. The most interesting amalgam of the two is the cinnabar, or mercuric sulphide (HgS), which is artificially combined to make the bright red pigment called vermilion. Vermilion is used commonly as the *tilaka* on the forehead and the body, particularly of the Śāktas and Śaivas.

[79] *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, II, 61. Trade and traders were the biggest propagators of the Mahāyāna tradition in Central Asia particularly. That also, on occasions, changed the theological-ritual contours of the acculturating Buddhist face, as discussed by Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, Chapter 4.

[80] The words stick and remain in currency in a localised pocket, even though they become obsolete in the larger population. For example, the Gaddīs call the people of Kāngrā as Jāndhare, revisiting the old politico-cultural denomination of Jālandhar (also *pīṭha*), particularly when the people of Kāngrā have no such memory. Similarly, the medieval Chambā inscriptions call it Trigarta, while Kāngrā refuses to use the word. Maṇimaheśa too seems to be of that order where one suffix or pre-fix alters the meaning, yet in popular consciousness the words stick, carrying the same meaning in continuity. Mahesh Sharma, "Tribal Group's Sense of History: A Study Based on Oral Tradition Recorded from the Gaddis of Himachal," Unpublished M. Phil Dissertation, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1991, Chapter 3.

(the schematic ritual diagram), as opposed to the position of prominence accorded to them in the early tradition, as we have seen in the case of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī or Maitriyā. In other cases, dominance is asserted by invoking the relationship of ranking and subservience. For example—Hevajra, Vajrabhairava are ranked above Umā, Maheśvara, etc. It is indicative of the nature of ideological contest whereby the strife between the contesting ideologies is often transformed to the mythological sphere. The symbolic defeat of the Siddhas by Guru Nanak, the precursor of Sikhism, exemplifies this. There is a parallel example in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition where Vajrapāṇi defeats Śiva.[81] Is the pre-fix Maṇimaheśa of that order?

The other question, if we are not willing to look into the cultural borrowing/impregnation hypothesis, is equally difficult. From where did the nomenclature Maṇimaheśa suddenly crop up, creating both the iconography and association? Irrespective of the hazard of speculation, there is little doubt that Maṇimaheśa was an invention that combined different symbols, which were vital for the consolidation of the state process and the fashioning of a new cultural complex.

How Charpaṭ got associated with this 'invention' is equally interesting, as it provides an insight into the mechanism of myth making, appropriation, and the moulding of a new symbol.[82]

> With its temple complex, the Brahmapurā area got associated with asceticism, firmed up by evolving an acculturating myth. According to this myth, the goddess Bharmāṇi was the tutelary deity of Brahmapurā (one of the *mātṛkās*) when Charpaṭnāth arrived along with 84 Siddhas on pilgrimage to Kailāśa mount, the abode of Śiva, from the south-west direction. On being requested, the goddess allowed them to stay in her territory for a night. However, by morning the complex was dotted all over by *lingamas*, the phallic representation of Śiva, which angered the goddess. In order to appease her, Śiva granted a boon that people undertaking pilgrimage to Maṇimaheśa would bath at the pool of the goddess for gaining merit arising out of this pilgrimage. While this myth creates a sacred space, it also acculturates and accommodates the existing symbol, as well as lay basis for the pilgrimage. Local deities are further associated, ordered in hierarchy, to Śiva, as Maṇimaheśa. Thus, Kailunganāga, the deity of Kugtī (overlooking the lake and mountain pass, the summer

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[81] Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, I, pp. 217–18.

[82] Mahesh Sharma, *The Realm of Faith*, p. 158; Also, *Village Survey Devi Koṭhī, Census of India*, 1961, XX, Part VI, No. 4; *Village Survey Bhramaur, Census of India*, 1961, XX, Part VI, No. 5; *Village Survey of Chhatrari, Census of India*, 1961, XX, Part VI, No. 6.

> crossing over for the Gaddī-shepherds to Lahul territory) becomes the wazīr, playing a prominent role in pilgrimage…

What needs to be pointed out, right at the onset, are those subtle 'connections' that are forged in this popular myth. Bharmāṇi is one of the *mātṛkās* (lit. the mother; but, the early fierce emanation of the supreme-goddess), worshipped in the western quarter of *manḍala* (the tantric ritual diagram, also popular in Tibetan Buddhism), as mentioned in the *Vāmakeśvara Tantra*.[83] She was the tutelary deity of Brahmapurā, the western seat for Kashmir Kaulas. We are aware of the early cultural influence of Kashmir over Chambā, which was inevitable given the geographical contiguity (See Chapter 1). This, however, was the time (c. 10–12th century CE) when tantra was being systematised in Kashmir: reworked and redefined.[84] This also was the time when Vajrayāni-Siddha masters were using the trade routes through these hills on their way to Tibet (prominently, *Zahor* and *Garzah* or Manḍī and Lahul). The connection of Charpaṭi, therefore in this myth, as well as the carrier of Siddha tantric tradition, is critical. It is, for that reason, not at all surprising that Śaiva primacy is asserted through Charpaṭi, and by the instrumentality of mythology that pushes the fierce goddess to the backseat. Chronologically, this is true, as in the post tenth century temples, the fierce yet largely 'single' goddesses are restrained by using the institution of matrimony; subsequently presented in their benevolent and mild aspect as Umā or Pāravatī, though structurally maintaining the continuity with the earlier tradition of them being an essence of and therefore liable to metamorphose into the Great-Goddess. What is significant here is the continuation of the symbol of Charpaṭ in rationalising the symbol of Maṇimaheśa. However, people first visit the Bharmāṇi *Kuṇḍa* (Kālī *Kuṇḍa*, in actuality), a subtle compromise made in the body of the myth, and then culminate their pilgrimage in the Maṇimaheśa Lake. *Kuṇḍa*, as is well known, has multivalent meanings—associated with fire and water—critical in the rites of *dīkṣā*

[83] L. M. Finn, tr., *The Kulacūḍāmaṇi Tantra and the Vāmakeśvara Tantra*, Wiesbaden, 1986, I.136, Māheśvarī at the northern, Indrāṇī at the eastern and Kaumārī at the southern, along with Brahmāṇī in the western quarters, are the four main *matṛkās*.

[84] For a brief succinct development of the tantric revivalism in Kashmir, see David White, *Kiss of the Yoginī*, Ch. 1.

or initiation.[85] Thus, the key to the whole Śaivite territoriality is through the womb of the goddess, as represented by the *Kuṇḍa*. While tantra as a creative practice involving esoteric rites is not spoken of, the territory is charted by devising creative pilgrim rituals. What is being reclaimed from the perspective of the state is a certain sacred territoriality with the dominant symbol of Maṇimaheśa; it is, at the same time, also mapping an ideological territory from the perspective of the Siddha/tantric practitioners. While the territorial state is eventually circumscribed, the cultural territoriality continues to spread. Accordingly, Kullu and Lahul becomes the area of *Yoginīs/Joginīs*[86] and Kāngrā is associated with the cult of goddess after the first millennium CE.[87] The point that I am trying to emphasise is the complex nature of a simple acculturating myth, which help us in understanding the mechanism by which a tradition diffuses. Also, how a myth sheaths an ambivalent meaning in its structure, intention and purpose as it were, which makes it more acceptable to the larger populace. Finally, how it creates an asymmetrical relationship between the state and ideology. It legitimates the state, yet creates a sacred constituency for its ideology, thereby making itself indispensable for the state process.[88] It is through this connection that the legates of Charpaṭ got associated with the shrine of Charpaṭ and became the priests of Mahākālī; sought state patronage; acquired a share and sought primacy in the pilgrimage of Maṇimaheśa; and created a network with other Jogī/Kaula traditions and institutions—all mentioned in the documents presented later in this selection.

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[85] See the Chapter on "Dīkṣā," Jan Gonda, *Change and Continuity in Indian Tradition*, The Hague, 1965, p. 430. That it has different tantric ritual associations across the sub-continent proves its significance, White, *Kiss of the Yoginī*, pp. 77–79.

[86] H. Desirens, "Les Yoginī de la Haute Vallée de Kullu (Himachal Pradesh)," *Bulletin d'Etudes Indiennes*, 9, 1991, pp. 61–73.

[87] Mahesh Sharma, "Shaktism in Himachal," *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, ed. J. S. Grewal, New Delhi, 2006; also, "Making the Deity: Woman Sacrifice, Goddess and Patriarchy," *Indian Historical Review*, XXXI (1&2) 2004.

[88] William R. Pinch has also noted this two way street, between the state and the ascetics. He writes that the militant Nāgā mahants tried to access the "middle-class Hindu nationalism and political plums" during the nineteenth century, which he notes was a two way street: "if naga mahants eyed middle-class Hindu nationalism with a desire to expand their influence among Vaishnavas, Hindu nationalists also eyed the naga mahants with their own, wider political agendas," *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 9.

The pilgrimage or Jātrā to Maṇimaheśa

The Jātrā-procession to the sacred *ḍala*-lake of Maṇimaheśa begins on the new moon of Bhādoṅ or Asūj, and terminates on the eighth day (*aṣṭamī*) of the light-half-of-moon, called *Durbāṣṭamī* in the *Gazetteer of Chambā, 1904*.[89] The Jātrā proceeds with the setting forth of the banner of Charpaṭnāth from its shrine in Chambā and terminates on the day before *Rādhāṣṭamī* at Maṇimaheśa, where the sacred bath takes place the next day—the *Rādhāśṭamī*. Interestingly, *Durvāśṭamī* of 1904 has become *Rādhāṣṭamī* in 1990s, a phenomenon (of subtle Vaiṣṇavisation) indicative of the delicate sectarian strife.

The Jātrā, or the journey from Chambā to Maṇimaheśa, is divided into seven stages, or halting places. The first is in the outskirts of the town itself, at Julākhaḍī (see Map 2.1). It is said that the choice of this particular place is rather recent; replacing the earlier halting place, Ballū in Rajeḍa. The second halt is at Rākh, followed by Durghaṭī, Bhramaur, Haḍsar, Dhancho and finally Maṇimaheśa. After the holy dip, the Charpaṭnāth Jogīs take a detour for almost a month, visiting various parganās and collecting customary dues, returning to Chambā on the first *Āśvina* Navarātrā.

At Maṇimaheśa, Charpaṭnāth shares the proceeds of pilgrim offerings, both in cash and kind, with the local Sippi *celās* (shamans) of village Sachuin, the Brāhmaṇa pujārīs of village Haḍsar and the Girī ascetics of the 'Daśanāmī Akhāḍā' of Bhramaur. This arrangement perhaps indicates the aetiology of the Jātrā-pilgrimage as well. The Sippis were the traditional shaman-*celās* (they served in subsidiary capacity to the Gaddīs, and were placed very low in the caste hierarchy), and still are at the forefront, who herald the opening of the fair by crossing the water; while the pujārīs of Hadsar were the local Gaddī shepherds who were elevated by the Rājā of Chambā to the ritual status of Brāhmaṇas in order to officiate marriage ceremonies in order to provide 'sanctity' and 'legitimacy' to the institution of marriage.[90] The Daśanāmī Girī ascetics came to Chambā and were patronised by the rulers in 1668, and

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[89] CDG 1904, p. 215.

[90] Even in the 1950s, when Newell lived in Bhramaur as an Anthropologist, there were no brahmanic priests in most of the villages. The elevated Brāhmaṇas married with the local Gaddī population, which Newell took as a revelation also because he presumed the caste formation as an only social reality. See, J. H. Newell, "Inter-Caste Marriage in Kugti Village, Upper Budl Nala, Brahmaur Tehsil, Chamba District, Himachal Pradesh, India," *Man*, 59/60, 1963, pp. 55–57; Also, *Report on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes*, Census of India, 1961, Vol. XX, Part V–B, 1967.

were, perhaps, associated with the Maṇimaheśa pilgrimage to provide it a wider sanskritic sanctity.[91] The association of the Charpaṭ Jogīs with the ceremonial of Maṇimaheśa was perhaps later—going by the documentary evidence at hand.

The documents in this selection (documents reproduced in Chapter 4.III) suggest that the state aided the Jogīs of Charpaṭ in their Jātrā by asking the officials of each area, which they traversed through, to facilitate the Jātrā-procession by providing people to carry the emblem of Charpaṭ as well as to make provision for victuals and look after their well being in general. It was also expected that the state subjects would make traditional tribute/donation to the emblem of Charpaṭ, and the officials would provide enough porters to carry the load thus collected in kind.

The Jātrā (also see the first section of 4.III) began with the symbolic elevation of Charpaṭ, from an object of faith to the royal representative, (symbolised by the sceptre-*chaḍī* and a *caurī*-whisk) the guardian of the spiritual realm. The task was, however, performed by the chief-priest of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple, the foremost deity of the Chambā state. According to the records of the shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, that acted as the custodian of the "possessions" and "jewellery" of the Chambā temples (treasurer, as it were), the following objects were loaned to the portal of Charpaṭnāth to undertake the Maṇimaheśa Jātrā, to the *Kotwāla*, the priest in-charge of the Jātrā-procession:

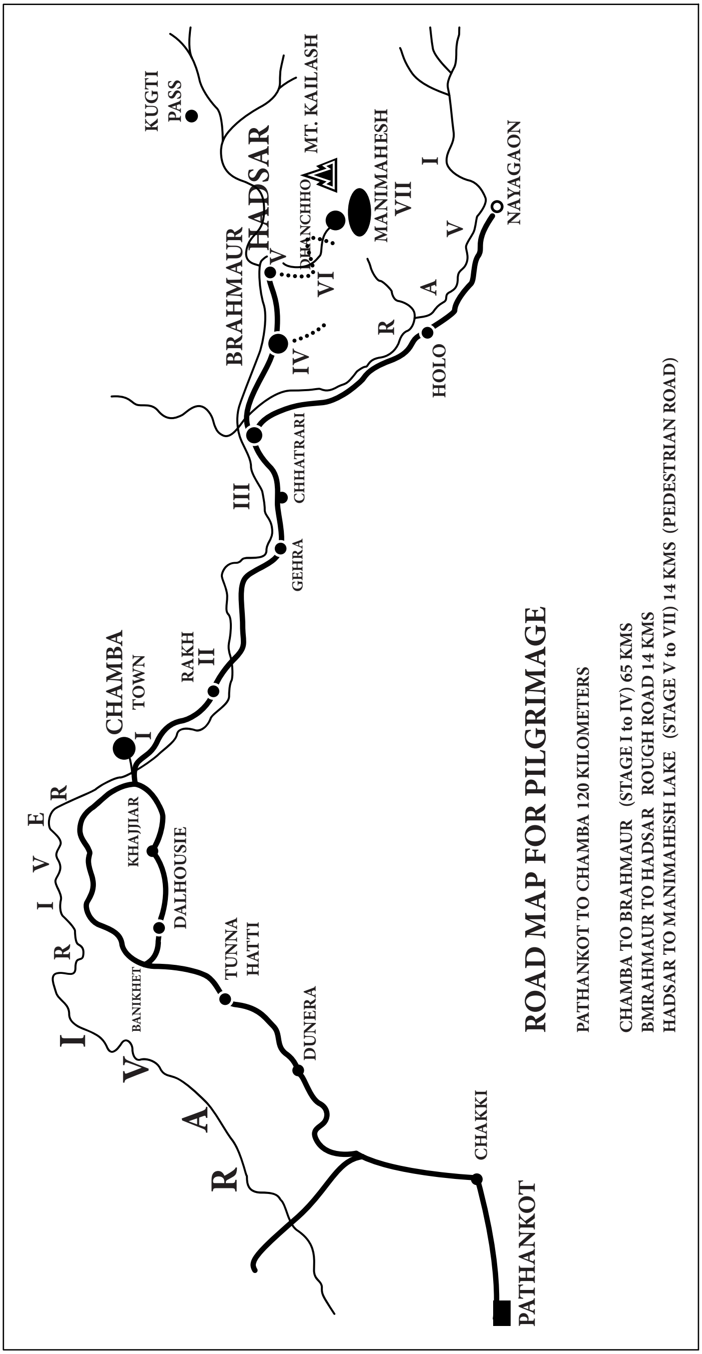
> 1 *Chaḍī* (staff, perhaps for banner, later independent of it) of silver, one;
> 1 *Cāmar* (whisk) with silver handle, one.

It must be noted that since the dawn of the twentieth century, the relationship between Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and Charpaṭnāth has not been at its best. Consequently, the Jogīs underplay the relationship of the Daśanāmīs in this yātrā, while the manager of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple tries to project their role as essential. Hence, in Samvat 97, 5 *praviṣṭhe* of Bhādrapāda month, 1940, these objects were given to the *Kotwāla* or the 'minister' of the 'Daśanāmī Akhāḍā', at Rāmagarh—situated near the Chambā town—Balbīr Gīr, to head the '*yātrā*' (sanskritised form of Jātrā!).[92] Ever since, separate parties set out for the

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[91] *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 77, pp. 159–60. CBSMC catalogues this as B-34 document, recording it as village Samota in Diur parganā, p. 11.

[92] Manager, Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa, *Register of Objects in the Custody of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa given to Temples at the Time of Yātrā.*



Map 2.2 The Route of the Maṇimaheśa Pilgrimage



Figure 2.14 Charpaṭ's Maṇimaheśa pilgrimage. The Mahant holds the canopy, the priest the staff or a mace (partially visible, in front) and one of the servitors waves the cauri-whisk. The procession sings the 'eulogy' of Charpaṭ, or Śiva as Maṇimaheśa. The Mahant has donned the Charpaṭ colā or the attire of the Mahant of Charpaṭ, with a horn-nādā is tucked in the girdle, tied at the waist. The horn, symbolic of the primeval sound, is an emblem of the Nāth Siddhas, which in turn is associated with Śiva.

yātrā with each asserting their claim as the sole legitimate authority. The subtle appropriation of symbols/symbolic continues: e.g., by 1999 the '*chaḍī*' had become the 'holy mace'(?), which, in turn, was called the "*Chaḍī Mubarak*," an echo of the pilgrimage to Amarnāth in Kashmir, which is headed by the Daśanāmī ascetics. Appropriation of symbols and creating bridges with the wider cosmologies goes on.

After the assumption of the Chambā state in the Indian union, the district administration (the Chambā state became Chambā district) provides a budget for the Jātrā of Maṇimaheśa, officiated by the Deputy-Commissioner of Chambā. In the year 1959 and 60, the administration incurred an expenditure of Rs. 400 and 750 respectively (see details in



Figure 2.15 A Siddha from Diur, Chambā (wooden incense burner and lamp, hand-fan (instead of cauri-whisk) of peacock feathers and chain-sangala: the emblem of Siddha. (Photographed in 1991)

Appendix II, Table II.3),[93] as against Rs. 400 in 1949[94] (see details in Appendix II, Table II.2) and Rs. 323.66 in 1961–62.[95]

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[93] Copy of letter no. 25–83/60–GAD, dated 13th August 1961 from Under-Secretary to Himachal Pradesh Administration under Grant-in-Aid, under the head of 157 Misc. B. miscellaneous BI Donations for charitable purposes. B 1 (I) Charitable ceremonies and Dharmārth during the year 1961–62.

[94] Manager, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Complex, *Register 27 (A)* formerly Ā *(Sa)*.

[95] Manager, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Complex, *Register 6 (Bh): Expenditure from Dharmarth grant Samvat 2011 onwards*, Samvat 2018, No. 8.

The shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa too sponsors the *yātrā* through the Girī ascetics of the 'Daśanāmī Akhāḍā' of Chambā;[96] a tradition that started in the late 1940s to oppose the Charpaṭnāth's Jogīs, perhaps a showdown aimed at influencing the 'power politics'.

The State, Religion and Charpaṭ

The state of Chambā facilitated the creation of a supra-regional symbol in Maṇimaheśa with a view to co-opt diverse identities and faiths, in order to create a consent-for-its-rule, which was strongly challenged by the post 15th century subordination to the Mughals and, consequently, to the various hegemonic forces—from Abdālīs, the Sikhs and finally, the British. Though, theoretically, Chambā was largely an independent state, practically, it had limited power and resources, as, for instance, was the case of its relationship with the British. Symbols acquire enhanced significance during such times, and patronage to the religious institution is critical to express the independence of the state. In a way, the 'authority'/rulers renew their relationship with the spiritual realm during such times. The state is presented as the 'sole' custodian of the sacred, a subtle distinction with the temporal, the 'profane' space of the political over which it loses 'absolute' control.

The ascetic symbols were significant in such an assertion, also because the dichotomy between the renouncer and the householder (the sacred and profane worlds) is so pronounced in the Indian subcontinent. While the relationship between kingship and the divine was always asymmetrical, the relationship between kingship and the ascetic agency was mutually reinforcing. They collaborated in the mutual legitimating process, thus sharing authority in a symbiotic fashion.[97] As Appadurai formulated for South India, this sectarian ascetic agency was a crucial intermediary "for the introduction, extension and institutionalisation

[96] In 1995, it incurred the expenditure of Rs. 2895, on the ceremonial marking the beginning of the Jātrā from Chambā. (See details in Appendix II, Table II.4). Register Ā-13: *Utsava va Tyohār Manane kā Register* (Register for celebrating the festivals and ceremonies), 1997.

[97] See the discussion by Arjuna Appadurai, "Kings, Sects and Temples in South India: 1350–1700," B. Stein, ed., *South Indian Temple: An Analytical Study*, New Delhi, 1978, p. 73.

of warrior-control over constituencies and regions that might otherwise have proved refractory."[98]

Appreciably, the Nāth ascetics eschewed a narrow sectarian outlook and moved in a diverse company, thereby mutually impacting the sectarian outlook; for instance, their relationship with various Sufīs, particularly the Jaffaris and the Ismāilīs or Nazīrīs.[99] With their anti-caste attitude, some of them hailing from the ritually low castes (also, perhaps, Charpaṭ, who is identified by Rahul Sankritayan as belonging to the caste of *Kahārs*, the palanquin-bearers'), they were popular among the agrarian communities, also because of the alleged Siddhīs-powers that they possessed.[100] All this made them strong contenders for 'power' and they were 'cultivated' by the state to reinforce each other mutually. The relationship between Charpaṭnāth, later his Jogīs, and the state may be similarly contextualised.

In Chambā, however, their ostensible hold over the 'secular' was not palpable, also because Chambā had a comparatively smaller polity and resources. What is, nevertheless, critical for Chambā is the relationship between Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and various cults, as Vaiṣṇavism was the state religion in this period (post 16th century period). How various ideologies could be reconciled, is critical to our understanding of the state process.

All the charters, in this period, are in the name of a Vaiṣṇava deity, Rāma or Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. All other religious associations are marginal. The relationship between the Vaiṣṇava deity and the king was that of

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[98] Appadurai, "Kings, Sects and Temples in South India," p. 55, or his, *Worship and Conflict under Colonial Rule: A South Indian Case*, Cambridge, 1981, p. 73. Such a relationship, particularly between the Nāth-Jogīs and the states has been confirmed by Nandini Sinha, "A Study of State and Cult: The Guhilas, Pasupatas and Ekalingji in Mewar 7th to 15th century," *Studies in History*, 9, 1993, pp. 161–182; Veronique Bouillier, "Growth and Decay of a Kanphata Yogi Monastery in South-West Nepal," IESHR, 28 (2), 1991, pp. 151–170. For cultic legitimation, as in Mewar, Ulrike Teuscher, "Changing Eklingji: A Holy Place as a Source of Royal Legitimation," *Studies in History*, 21 (1), 2005, pp. 1–16.

[99] For instance, the Hindu-Muslim double rosters, Alf Hiltebeitel, *Draupadi among Rajputs, Muslims and Dalits: Rethinking India's Oral and Classical Epics*, Chicago, 1999/Delhi, 2001.

[100] For Himachal hills, Mahesh Sharma, "Sidh Worship in Himachal Pradesh: A Study of a Popular Cult in Historical Perspective," Ph.D. Dissertation, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1995, pp. 170–221; "A Tribal Group's Sense of History: Study Based on Oral Tradition Recorded from the Gaddīs of Himachal," M.Phil. Dissertation, Chandigarh, Panjab University, 1991, pp. 75–132; Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, Chapter: "On Siddha Literature;" D. Yadav, *Vajrayani Siddha Sarhyada*, Santiniketan, 1972; Dwivedi, H. P., *Nāth Sampradaya*, Varanasi, 1966.

a sovereign and servant, the human agent through whom the divine ruled. The King ruled for the deity, who was the *de facto* ruler. Thus, the temple was a realm as well, yet also a sanctified private space of the deity. As a paradigmatic ruler, the temple was a redistributive agency—of honour and material. As a sovereign, it entered into an unequal transaction with its population. The people, including the ruler, paid homage through the complex ritual-*pūjā*; the deity, in return, provided them with material wealth and honour, including the right to rule for the king. Not to mention the supreme duty of protection—in this case from the constantly threatening forces of 'evil'. This relationship was, moreover, replicated in rearranging the divine world as well. This was the problematic issue for the state.

This may be understood at three different levels. One, the Jogīs and the shrine of Charpaṭ, which was paid tribute to, and in return distributed the honour by recognising the Jogī-priests of the respective locality. All these localities were tied in horizontal relation with each other and a vertical relation with Charpaṭ. The same was the case with the shrines of the goddesses. Let us consider the case of a "goddess ceremonial," the Joga-Jātrā, to understand this more clearly.

The Details of Joga-Jātrā Fair

The Joga–Jātrā festivities, lasting for 21 days, began with the commencement of a new year, heralded by a ceremonial festival called Basoā or Vaiśākhī. These 21 days of the month of Vaiśākh were set aside to appease the deities of the town and to honour the goddess, symbolised in Campāvatī—the deified daughter of Rājā Sāhilla Varman, after whom the town got its name—whose portal was the focus of this ceremony. Every day, during this auspicious festive time, the King along with his courtiers visited all the temples of the town, a visitation that began and terminated at the shrine of Campāvatī, stylised as Mahiṣāsuramardinī—the killer-of-the-buffalo-headed-demon. Not only the goddesses of the town but those in the nearby regions were also worshipped, and those of far-flung areas, like Miṅḍhala, the deity of Pangī or the goddess of Vairāgarh (called in the document as Vairāwālī or the goddess of Vairā), came to pay tribute to Campāvatī.[101] The practice continues even today,

[101] The tribute to the main shrine was a continuous process, perhaps as a part of the arrangement made by the state whereby these different shrines maintained each other. For instance on the occasion of the harvest festival of Sair, the Devī Vaire Wāḷī paid the shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa the following fixed revenue (or tribute):

as pointed out by a recent account (2003) of the goddess of Devī-Koṭhi (Vairāwālī) setting forth to the Chambā town:[102]

> The Goddess Baira-bali, i.e. Chamunda from Devi-Kothi, arrives with her party in Chambā town annually on the fourth day of the month of Baisakh (i.e. c. 16th of April) and leaves the town on her return journey on the seventeenth of the same month (i.e. around 29th April). During the day that the Goddess Baira-bali is in town, members of all Hindu households, especially women and girls, come to the temple, bringing offerings. The number of people visiting the temple becomes truly large. Around the 28th of April, a day before Baira-bali is set to leave for Devi-Kothi again, a fair is held at the Chamunda temple and the town people gather there in large numbers. The atmosphere turns quite festive; hawkers selling eatables and children's toys flock to the ground, setting up stalls or carts behind the temple.
>
> Both the pujari-priests of the Chambā and the Devi-Kothi temples share the offerings made at the temple on this occasion in equal measure… the chela-oracle from Devi-Kothi sits in a formal, ceremonial manner in the front compound of the temple and, when possessed by the spirit of the Goddess, makes predictions while music is performed on shehnai, horns, and drums…

Compare this to the account of homage paid by the chieftains of the state to the Rājā, as recorded by French in 1931[103]

> Once a year all the Rāṇās and chiefs and village headmen come into Chambā town to renew their homage to the Rājā. Ornamental arches in the form of big gates with towers are put up on the four roads which lead to the four provinces of Chambā, and they are decorated with the appropriate local symbols, so that the men of each province come into Chambā under their own signs. A great durbar is held, where the Rājā

Gallā (crop-share of revenue) in	*perā-maṇī-seer*	*Rokā* at the rate of (Rs)
Dāl-Māśa	24—11—0	2–0–0
Til (Sesame)	22—2—0	2–0–0
Ghee	0—21—2	2–0–0
Makhīr (Honey)	0—22—2½	2–0–0
Miṭṭhā Dhūpa (Incense)	0—2—3	2–0–0
Namak (Salt)	0—2—10	2–0–0

Dated 16–10–Samvat 2011, Manager, *Register of Complaints and Receipts (Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa)*, Entry No. 57.

[102] Eberhard Fischer, V. C. Ohri and Vijay Sharma, *The Temple of Devi-Kothi: Wall Paintings and Wooden Reliefs in a Himalayan Shrine of the Great Goddess in the Churah Region of the Chamba District, Himachal Pradesh, INDIA*, Zurich, Artibus Asiae Supplement, 43, 2003, p. 175.

[103] J. C. French, *Himalayan Art*, (intro by Laurence Binyon), 1931, Delhi, 1983 (reprint), p. 49.

> sits in state with his *mosāhibs* (peers), soldiers, and ministers, and receives homage. Afterwards, there is sports, both ancient and modern…

The conception of tribute had political overtones, as it was a subtle compromise by which the people of the area/region, which was always contested by the rulers of Kashmir valley (see document I.1), accepted the hegemony and dominance of the Chambā royalty. The popular deities like Vāsukīnāga, or other minor gods-*devatās*, similarly paid their obeisance by personally attending this 'fair'-ceremonial. On the other hand, the state bound them to its body by making reciprocal gifts. Thus, new clothes were offered to these deities as, for example, to Vāsukīnāga.

As a benefactor of the tutelage of Campāvatī, the Rājās of Chambā made offerings, both in kind and cash to the temples and deities. New clothes were offered, cash donations made, and grains and other agrarian produce was offered to facilitate the preparation of the consecrated food to be offered to the deity, to invoke blessings and good augury for the impending year. Since this commemorative 'ceremonial' was held to celebrate the building of the township of Chambā by honouring its tutelary deity—Campāvatī or Camāsaṇī—the ritual centred on the worship of the goddess and other shrines were relegated to the periphery (For more details, see Chapter III, 'the Jātrās'). The details of the offerings made on this occasion and the distribution of honour in recognition of attendance (acceptance of hegemony), is provided in the 1950 Chambā document produced below.[104]

Table 2.4 The details of the Joga-Jātrā fair in Chambā, in 1950 (Samvat 2006), on the day of Basoā or Baisākhī

Cloth offering:
To goddess Vairāwālī: 3 meters *daryāī*; 1 mt cloth and 7 mts *goṭṭā* (lace)
1 *Bagoṭū* 1mt; 1 long-skirt-*ghagarū* 3½ mts; 1 *ḍhuṅḍū* 1½ mts with *goṭṭā* (laced)

To Harī-Rai temple: cloth 7½ mts
1dhotī 3mts with pleats of 1mt; *1dupaṭṭā* 1mt; 1 *kamar-bandha* or waist-cloth 1½ mts; 1 *uttarīya* or upper-garment/top 1mt; 2 small *ghāgrā* or long-skirts ½ mt each

To Nāga: 2 *Kehlāṭā dhotī* 2mts; 1 *upernā* 1mt; 2 handkerchief 2mts

[104] Manager, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Complex, *Register 27 (A)* formerly *Ā (Sa)*, IV.

Table 2.4 (*cont.*)

To Vāsukī Nāga: cloth, 3½ mts
1double *pallā*-pleated *dhotī* 1½ mts; 1 *dupaṭṭā* 1mt; 1 *kamar-bandha* 1 mts; *adhwāda*

To Wazīr Bahno: cloth, 3½ mts
1 *dhotī* 1½ mts; 1 *dupaṭṭā* 1mt; 1 kamar-bandha 2 mts
To Gaurī-Śaṅkara temple: cloth, 4½ mts
2 *dhotī* 3mts; 2 *dupaṭṭā* 1 mt

Turbans: 3
1 each of 4mts to Harī-Rai, Vāsukī Nāga and Wazīr Bahno
Muṇḍase or headgears: 26
1 each of 3 mts to all the temples (inclusive of Charpaṭnāth); 6 shirt-pieces; 5 līra (lit. waste cloth) or small cloth.

Special Offerings to the goddesses: cloth 27 mts
1 *bagoṭū* or blouse of 1mt; 1 *ghagrū* or skirt of 2mts with cloth to make a string of ½ mt; and 1 *ghunḍū* or veil of 1½ mts each to the goddess Campāvatī, Cāmuṅḍā, Bharārī Devī, Śakti at Chambā, Hiḍambā, Devī Sandhī, Minḍhalā at Chambā, Gaṇā-Śakti and Tripura-Sundarī.

Banners: cloth, 5mts
2 banners each to Campāvatī and Cāmuṅḍā along with 10 shawls, 10 quilts and 5 pillows

Total cloth used 72 mts; *daryāī* 3mts; *goṭṭā* 7½ mts

Grain offering:
For the consecrated food of Vairāwālī by the shrine of Cāmuṅḍā: on 3rd Vaiśākha
Rice 5 *seer*; wheat flour 12 *seer; dāla māśa* (black gram, *Phaseolus radiatus*) 3 ½ *seer*; salt ¼ *seer; ghee* ½ *seer*; jaggery ½ *seer*
Cash 6–7–9

For the consecrated food of Vairāwālī by the shrine of Raghūvīrjī: on 14th Vaiśākha
Rice 20 *seer*; wheat flour 20 *seer*; *dāla* māśa 3½ *seer*; salt ¼ *seer; ghee* 2½ *seer*; red-chillies ¼ *seer*; tamarind seeds 1 *seer*; fuel-wood worth 1–8–0; *Sañja Sāmagrī* worth 0–13–0
Cash 14–15–0

For the consecrated food of Śakti -Gaṅḍawālī from the shrine of Vairāwālī:
Corn flour 16 *seer*; wheat flour 5 *seer; dāla* māśa 2½ *seer*; salt ½ *seer; ghee* 1seer; jaggery ½ *seer*
Cash 5–1–6

Table 2.4 (*cont.*)

For the consecrated food of Raghūvīra by the shrine of Vairāwālī:
Rice 2 *seer*; barley 1 *seer*; mustard oil worth 1–0–0; 1 water pitcher; *supārī* worth 0–6–0
Cash 1–4–3

To all the nine goddesses worshiped in Jātrā (as given above):
To each the following is offered:
coconuts 18; *kaurāṅ* 9; *miṭṭhā dhūp*,[105] saffron, *supārī* [106] worth 0–6–0 each
The following deities were provided cash offerings:
1 Rupee each to Campāvatī, Hiḍambā, Śakti Gaṅḍa, Cāmuṅḍā, Minḍhalavāsinī at Chambā, Jvālāmukhī at Bhadyāth, Vairāwālī, Vāsukī Nāga, Harī-Rai, Tripura-Sundarī, and Minḍhalā at Pāngī;
Eight Ānnā or half a Rupee each to the cenotaph of Charpaṭnāth or the shrine of Maṇimaheśa, Wazīrjī of Jīṭwāṅ, Nāga of Ḍaḷāṭokārū, and Gauri-Śaṅkara.

The consecrated sweets as bhoga are offered to:
Campāvatī, Cāmuṅḍā, Vairāwālī, Harī-Rai, Jvālāmukhī, and Gaṅḍa-Śakti
Flowers along with sweets to Minḍhala Devī of Pāngī
The goddess Vairāwālī is also propitiated with a prayer to Gaṇeśa, while offering ritually a pitcher, *bheṭa* and sacrifice.

Following is offered for Billī Jātrā (details see, Chapter III, 'The Jātrās'):
The musicians (*śehnāī*) accompanying 3–2–0; the person carrying cat in cage around the town 1–0–0; the person releasing the cat in ceremony 1–2–0; the payments to labour for carrying the icons of 19 Jātrās or processions carried in this time around the town 3–2–0; and the courtiers 21–0–0 each.

For the wrestling match at the end of Billī Jātrā:
For five pairs: to each winner and loser 6–8–0 and 3–8–0 respectively
For ten pairs: to each winner and loser 21–0–0 and 11–0–0 respectively

Total expenditure by the administration in Samvat 2006 or 1950 is 179–14–9 (Rupees One hundred and seventy nine, fourteen Ānnās, and nine Paisās)

Signed

The shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa offered a token tribute, much in the same way as it sent its tribute to the Maṇimaheśa pilgrimage—known as *bartan*, or a reciprocal offering. This had no bearing on its status as the

[105] Incense extracted from an aromatic herb, *Jurenea macrocephela*.
[106] Nuts cut in small pieces for the making of a mouth freshening beetle-*pāna* leaves; also used for ritual offering as a whole nut, *Acacia catetchu*.

supreme deity, but did help in accommodating the sectarian equation. Yet, it facilitated the major religious ceremonials, like the one discussed above. As it was the custodian or the repository of ornaments of various deities/shrines of Chambā, it loaned them to these deities, to be returned after their main Jātrā-fair or the festive occasion, since the middle of the 19th century, if not earlier. It seems that it also organised and funded the main Jātrās and festivities that were celebrated in these shrines, on behalf of the Rājā of Chambā. However, as of today, it makes token offerings on such festivities, though it continues to be, grudgingly, the custodian of their depleting stock of ornaments.

The following document, made in 1871–72 CE, indicates the care taken in depositing the ornaments and making other arrangements at the Jātrā-fair of the goddess Jālpā of Mehlā, by the functionaries of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, on the behest of Shyam Singh, the Rājā of Chambā.

Source:
Manager, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Temple, *Ādeśa Patra Nakala Register (Register for the copy of the orders)*
Order No. 40
Script: Devanāgarī
Language: Hindi

Order from (in the name of) Mahārājā Śyāma Singhjī,
(Issued by the Manager of the shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa)
To
Kāmadārān (*Kāmadārs* of) Mehlā and Pujārī Govind Rāma of Devī Jālpājī at Mehlā

Transcription
Sūcit kiyā jātā hai ki yātrā ke liye Devījī ke ābhūṣaṇādī sone cāṅdī ke nimna byore anūsāra Sipāhī Iśalāq ke hātha maiṅ lāye jāte haiṇ/ Byore anūsāra vasūla kara Pujārī apanī jimevārī maiṅ yātrā ke samaye Śrī Devījī kī lu'yāī dene pehre kā bandobasta jisa prakāra pehle hotā ā'yā uske mutābika kareṅ aur yātrā ke bāda yeha gehne Sipāhī ke hātha vāpis kara daiṅ/ Aur haṭaḍī culhe kā ṭhekā 15 rupyae maiṅ halwāī Śaśī Praṣāda ko diyā gayā hai/ Veha sāmagarī vasūla kara ke...hatha bheja daiṅ/
Samvat 1928 Asāḍha Praviṣṭhe 7

Translation

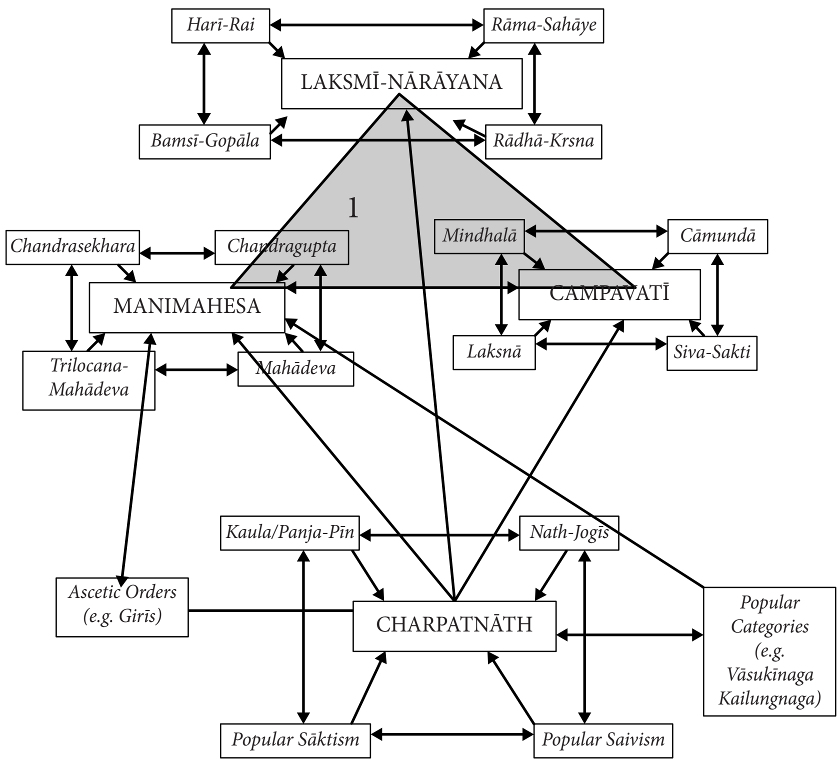
Informed that the ornaments of the following description (details), of gold and silver, for the *yātrā* of the Devī are being sent (by the manager of the portal of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa) through the safeguard of the 'Sepoy' (meaning, a police officer), named Iśalāq. Ascertaining the details and after adorning the Devī, the Pujārī-priest should arrange for the safety (vigil) of these ornaments, as earlier. After the *yātrā*, the ornaments should be returned through the safeguard of the (same) 'Sepoy'. Notice that the contract for the purchase and preparation-*haṭaḍī culhe* (of the consecrated food and that to be used for ritual purpose during the days of *Jātrā*) has been given to the grocer (*halwāī*), named Śaśī Praṣāda for Rupees fifteen (Rs. 15). Get the *sāmagarī*-ritual objects (cooked products) from him and send them through…(to the ruler of Chambā?/ or the shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa?)
7 Praviṣṭhe, Aṣāḍha month, Samvat 1928 (1871–72AD).

Conclusion: The State and Shrine

> When you meet a Sanyasi, he may have been anything before he took up the saffron robe, a clerk, a trader, a judge, a member of a princely family. I remember meeting a Sanyasi just outside Chambā town. His face struck my attention at once. I could see that power, authority, and intellect were stamped on it, though I only caught a glimpse of it for a moment as he went on his way to the snows…strange stories are told about the hermitages among the icy peaks,…[107]

The post-genealogy state came riding the Vaiṣṇava Rāma horse, though conscious of the necessity to evolve larger instruments of legitimation. The instruments could be constructed in the pilgrimage of Maṇimaheśa, which had, by that time, a growing acceptance, as it was associated with Śiva. The category of the goddess cult, similarly, could be accommodated by celebrating such ceremonials like Joga-Jātrā. This is where the agency of Jogīs of Charpaṭ becomes crucial. They could integrate both Śaiva and Śākta worship, ideologically as well as ritually, being the priests of Mahākālī as mentioned in their grant document. Thus, they provided horizontal ties at the village level that were associated through the vertical relation with the portal of Charpaṭ. As Charpaṭ was an ascetic agency, and not a divinity himself, it had no problem in associating in

[107] French, *Himalayan Art*, p. 98.



References:
Single headed arrows = unequal directional relationship (vertical ties). Hierarchy is determined from the point of reference at the centre towards which the arrows points.
Double headed arrows = mutual relationship, equal (horizontal ties).
Plain Line = competing relationship with no particular hierarchy or ties.
1 = the equilateral triangle formed by Laksmī-Nārāyana, Manīmahesa and Campāvatī that forms the Chamba religious complex (equal but directional relationship.)

Diagram 2.2 Ordering of the religious symbols: Vertical and horizontal relationship

a similar vertical relationship with Maṇimaheśa or the goddess. This is where the ingenuity of the *vaṁśāvalī* comes in. It is through Charpaṭ that the image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa is brought to Chambā, who allegedly promotes Vaiṣṇavism. Ideological contestations notwithstanding, this is perhaps a masterstroke by which the most problematic issue of harmonising various theological systems was resolved. This may be understood from the transactional relationship, depicting hierarchy and associations, as portrayed diagrammatically below (Diagram 2.1).

In this diagram, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Maṇimaheśa and Campāvatī are all theoretically equal (the triangle at the top—marked 1—formed by joining three major sectarian symbols of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Maṇimaheśa and Campāvatī—where all the sides are equal, but are not directional). However, the relationship is directional. Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa is the dominant symbol: It is at the apex of the socio-moral world. It is the state. Moreover, all other Vaiṣṇava deities, though theoretically equal, would be ranked below Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Similarly, the relationship of the Śaiva and Śāktas would be organised horizontally and vertically in their sphere, but there is always a vertical relationship with Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Charpaṭ has an equal access to all, even though it would be ideologically closer to Maṇimaheśa. It is because of this access, that Charpaṭ is critical to the Chambā state, the reason why the Jogīs received the land grant and position of honour in Chambā's socio-religious world.

Again, following Appadurai's argument for our purposes, these Jogīs were the crucial intermediaries for devising consent-to-rule for the warrior class, in this case the Chambā rulers, over the peripheral regions.[108] This role of the sectarian renouncers was affected by the ideological control of the redistributive capacities of the temple, like Charpaṭ and other local or localised sanskritic shrines, not typically Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. The latter had a sovereign role to play, legitimating the state and kingship; as opposed to the consent-to-rule created by other sectarian leaders, like Charpaṭ. In the small disparate world of Chambā hills, much like other small but ideologically plural states in South Asia, legitimation of authority and the consent-to-rule are two different concepts that move parallel to each other, yet compliment each other so as to create a stable state. The distinction also helps in understanding the different processes by which diverse ideological underpinnings are coalesced into the state process, the making of a hybrid culture even within the state with a pronounced theistic leaning.

[108] Appadurai, *Conflict and Worship*, p. 73.



Figure 3.1 Meditating Siddha sitting on the fish: Iconographic representation of Matsyendranāth (also, Mīnapa)—Baijnāth temple. (The iconography is a contested representation. The same motif is associated with Viṣṇu and also has Jaina association)

CHAPTER THREE

CONTEXT: LANGUAGE, MEASURES AND FESTIVALS

> The ceremony of *Jamwāḷū* (cutting the hair of a child for the first time) is usually performed in Bālakrūpī temple and the hair is offered at the temple. Even those who observe the ceremony at home often come to the temple and offer their hair. An additional present, the amount of which varies from two Pice to any sum that one's means allow is also made. All these offerings are taken by the Jogī on duty. Jātrīs (pilgrims) who make offerings (for example, of a human being such as a child, or of a buffalo, cow, horse, etc., according to their vow), give it, if an animal, to the Jogī on duty, but in the case of a child its price is paid to the Jogī and is taken back. Besides these, cash, curds, umbrellas, coconuts and *ghee* are also offered.
>
> (Rose, *Glossary*, I, pp. 263–64)

The Script and Language

The language of the documents in the present volume is Chambiyāḷī, the local dialect of Chambā, which may be placed in the broad category of Pahārī language (lit., the language of the western-Himalayas). The script used is Ṭākarī, except in the first document which uses Arabic/Urdu script. This is reflective of the change in the political-cultural milieu in north India, having a bearing on the small hill principalities like the erstwhile state of Chambā.

The earliest inscription from Chambā is dated to the eighth century CE and is in Sanskrit. Most of the inscriptions prior to the eleventh century use the Śāradā script—signifying the overarching Kashmiri hegemony over the region. In fact, Śāradā inscriptions are found more in the hills (39 in all) than Kashmir (34). Chhabra has, however, pointed out that the 10–12th century charters, that he translated and transcribed, were rather in the Devāśeṣa characters. The devāśeṣa is the degenerated form of the early Śāradā characters and is a precursor to the later Ṭākarī script that was used widely in the hills, a case strongly advocated by Vogel as well. Even though there is an academic wrangling over the precise dates as to when the scripts gave way, or the other started

BRAHMĪ	300 BCE to 300 CE
WESTERN GUPTA	4th century to 6th century
KUTILA	7th century to 9th century
ŚĀRADĀ	9th century to 11th century (in Kashmir and Western Himalayan bills)

(Deambi points out that it continued to be popular in Kashmir until modern times, though in a slightly altered form)

DEVĀŚESA	11th century to 13th century
ṬĀKARĪ	1350 onwards in the hills (with minor variations)

Diagram 3.1 The Evolution of the Ṭākarī Script

emerging, as it were, Chhabra has traced the trajectory through which the Ṭākarī script evolved (Diagram 3.1) that we largely agree with.[1]

It may be of some interest to know how the post 1350 CE Chambā inscriptions became bilingual. The invocation in these bilingual epigraphs was always in Sanskrit. The effective grant, however, was in the *bhāṣā* or vernacular—where Chambiyāḷī language and the Ṭākarī script were used. The grants that were localized in scope were in Chambiyāḷī only, and were not bilingual (see Chapter 1). The grant part was obviously for the perusal of the local revenue officials, who were not well versed in Sanskrit. They were facilitated by using the vernacular, a small way by which the state showed its concern for its officials and the local population. This was, however, a pragmatic method that left no doubt about the 'operative' part of the grant in the minds of the officials implementing it, thereby ensuring precision without causing any harassment to all concerned. The main part in Sanskrit was for the consumption of the donee, usually the Brāhmaṇas, who were well versed in Sanskrit language. Since most of them were invited from areas other than Chambā (mainly from the northern and eastern parts of India, though there are stray examples of the Brāhmaṇas coming from

[1] Chhabra, *Antiquities*, II, pp. 13–15.

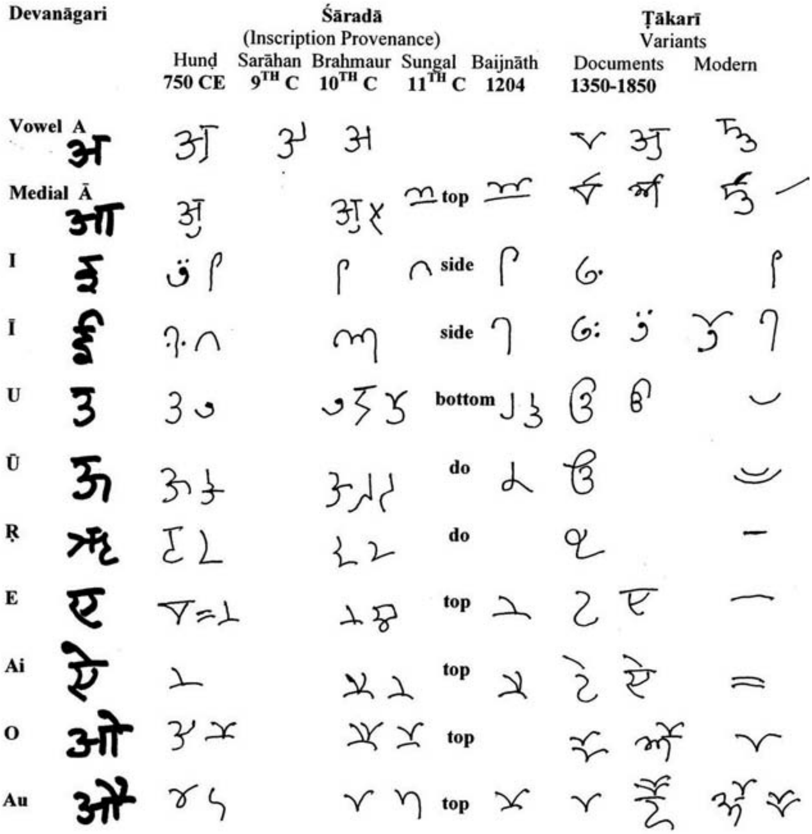
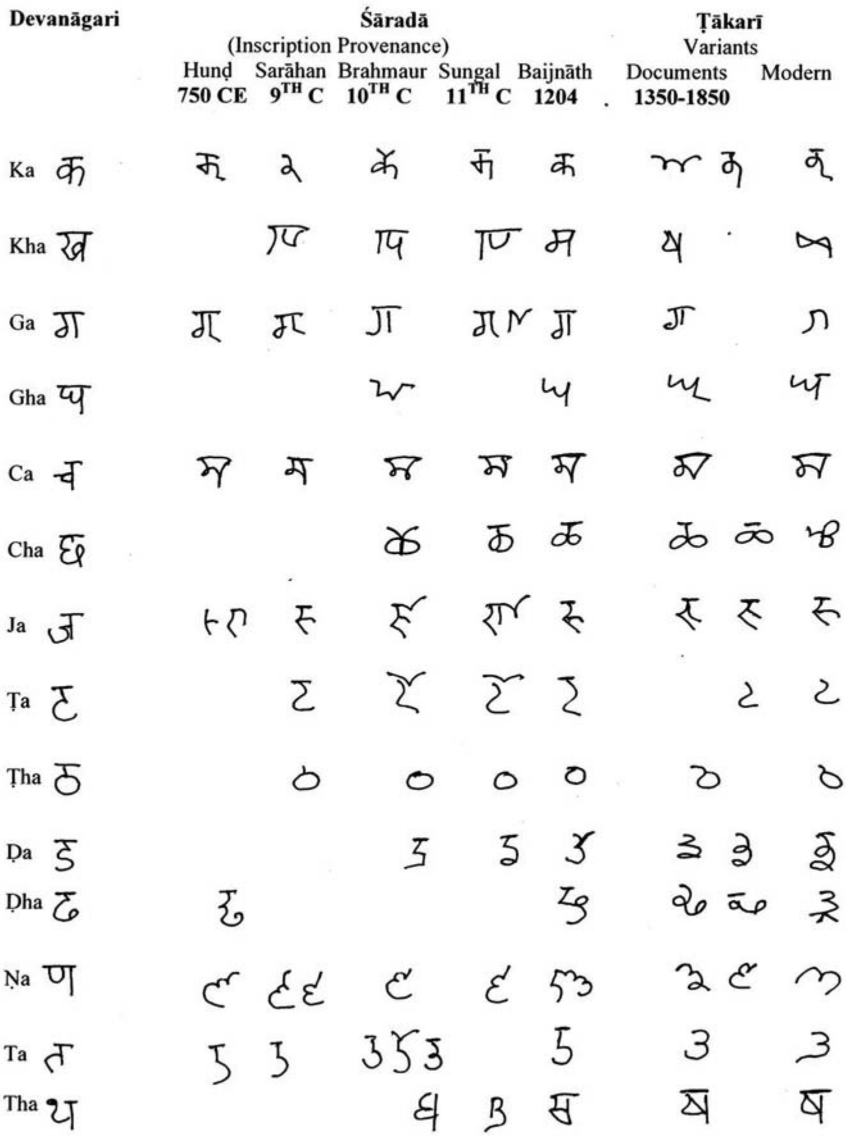


Diagram 3.2 The development of the Ṭākarī script: Vowels

south Indian as well), it was also a site for show-casing the sanskritised cultural milieu of the state. It may, however, be pointed out that in the later charters, published by Chhabra, the language had degenerated and many words of local usage had crept into it. That it paved way altogether to the Ṭākarī script and Chambiyāḷī language in the epigraphic records, therefore, comes as a little surprise, though it does not in any way signify that Sanskrit was altogether lost to Chambā. The Maṇimaheśa grant of VS 1507 (1442 CE) issued by Rājā Bhoṭa Varman is, perhaps, the first major grant made exclusively in the Ṭākarī script and Chambiyāḷī language.

The documents in the present collection are all in Ṭākarī, except the first, which uses the Arabic-Persian/Urdu script. It may be noted that with the dominance of Persian as the *lingua franca* in the medieval


Devanāgari
Śāradā
(Inscription Provenance)
Hunḍ 750 CE
Sarāhan 9TH C
Brahmaur 10TH C
Sungal 11TH C
Baijnāth 1204
Ṭākarī
Variants
Documents 1350-1850
Modern
Ka क
Kha ख
Ga ग
Gha घ
Ca च
Cha छ
Ja ज
Ṭa ट
Ṭha ठ
Ḍa ड
Ḍha ढ
Ṇa ण
Ta त
Tha थ

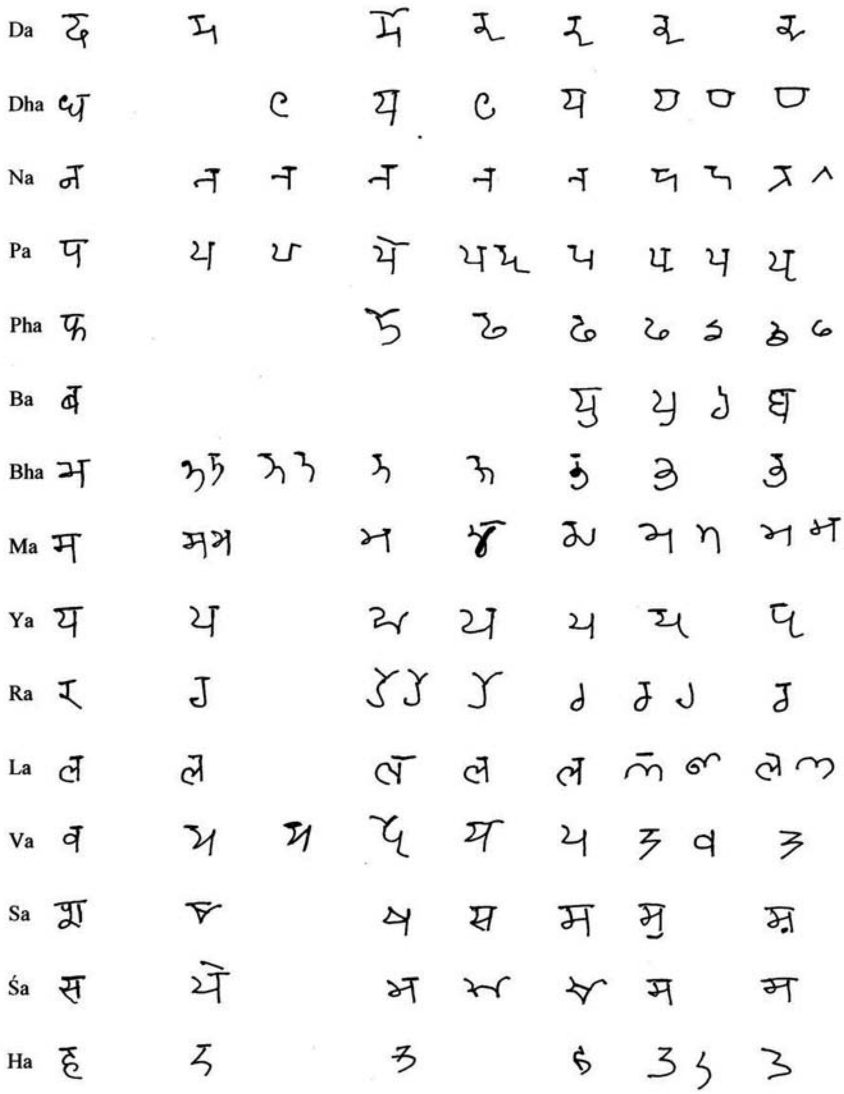


Diagram 3.3(a&b) The development of the Ṭākarī script: Consonants

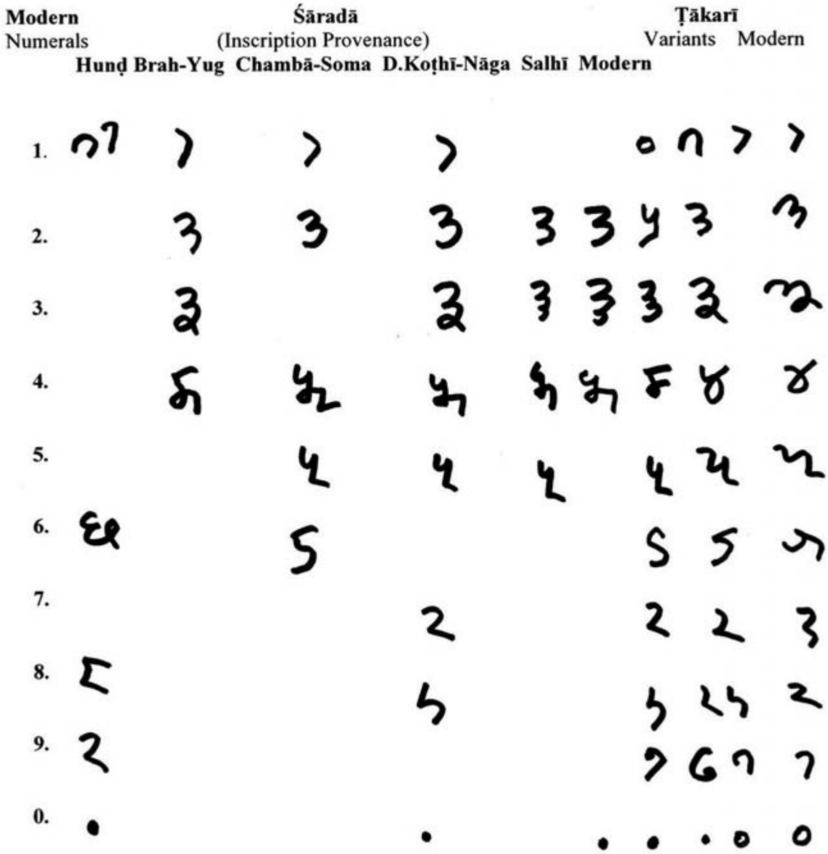


Diagram 3.4 The development of the Ṭākarī numerals from the early Śāradā

north India, Chambā too adopted the Arabic-Persian/Urdu script and language, particularly for revenue and legal purposes. During the colonial regime, though technically Chambā continued to remain an independent princely-state, Urdu became the official language, as we may discern from the legal documents as well (Chapter 4–V). The stray sprinkling of signatures in English, however, reminds us that English was very much the status language at this time. It may, however, be pointed out that in the early twentieth century, Ṭākarī was replaced by the Urdu script (all notices written by individual Jogīs in this selection are in Urdu). After 1947, however, the Devanāgarī script and Hindī language made inroads into these hills, with the patronage and encouragement provided by the government-run elementary schools. The shifts

in the scripts employed to write all the Chambā epigraphs, in a way, charts the political dynamic of the western Himalayan states, an area of study that has yet to catch the scholarly imagination.

How the Ṭākarī script evolved may be traced through comparative charts: The development of vowels in diagram 3.2 (p. 141); of consonants in 3.3 (pp. 142 & 143); and, of numerals in diagram 3.4 (p. 144).[2]

The Measure: Weight, Land and Volume

As we go through these documents, we come across various terms for the weighted measure, for the measurement of land and to measure volume. In view of the fact that no particular standard was used, it would be of some interest to arrive at a standardised conversion formula, to make the documents more readable. This exercise envisages the evolution of these terms, using the earlier inscriptions and studies for evidence, and to arrive at plausible conversions in the metric system.

The *pīḍā or peḍā* was the weighted measure used for food grains. It was called *pīṭaka* in the early Chambā epigraphs, as indeed it was in the numerous Gupta and post Gupta charters found in northern India. Interestingly, the literal meaning of *pīṭaka* is 'a basket', which probably signifies that this term was used for a fixed volume measure, rather than the weight. Volume measures, when translated into weighted measures, would be different for rice (paddy), wheat, corn and millet. This further confounds the problem in these documents. According to Deambi and Vogel, a *pīṭaka or peḍā* consisted of 40 *seers*.[3] We may point out that the weighted measure in terms of *māṇī, seers, maunds, maṇa*, etc. were of later derivation, not mentioned in the early inscriptions of Chambā. Vogel informs that *māṇī* was a volume measure, made out of "wood strengthened with iron" ring at the top. Rājā Rāj Singh imported it from Baśolī in 1782.[4]

[2] For the evolution chart of Śāradā characters check with, B. K. Kaul Deambi, *Corpus of Sarada Inscriptions of Kashmir: With Special Reference to Origin and Development of Sarada Script*, Delhi, 1982.

[3] B. K. Kaul Deambi, "Economic Conditions of Ancient Chambā as Gleaned from its Inscriptions," *A Western Himalayan Kingdom: History and Culture of the Chambā State*, eds. V. C. Ohri and A. N. Khanna, Delhi, 1989, p. 55. Also, J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, I, Calcutta, 1911, p. 160.

[4] CBSMC, J-1, p. 40.

The volume measure was also used as a land measure in terms of seed sown. We know that in an area a fixed amount of seed was required, therefore translating the weighted measure into an equivalent landed measure. The notion of acreage was therefore, in terms of yield; or in terms of seed-required. So we come across such terms for land measurements as: a "land worth two *māṇī* of rice; two and a half *māṇī* of corn," etc. As the seed-weight required per acre for each grain-type was different, we have to exercise caution when translating the measure in terms of the seed-requirement into the corresponding land measure. Similarly, the yields would be different for not only the grain type, but would vary also for different soil types. The Chambā state was aware of these problems. Therefore, some kind of standardised landed measures were evolved as well. However, the weighted measures facilitated revenue calculation and were thus more widely used than the land measures. All the land measures used in the Chambā epigraphs, however, translate as:

4 *bhūmakṣa* = 1 *bhū*[5]
1 *bhū* = 5.6 *lāhrīs* (14 *lāhrīs* = 2½ *bhū)*
1 *bhū* = 17 acres[6]

According to the "Bhramaur Copper Plate Inscription of Yugākāra Varman," the *pīṭaka* is also used as a land measure. According to verses 7–10, of the total canal irrigated land of two *bhū*, "one *pīṭaka* of rice is given from the *vāpeya* (or irrigated land) land" (*vāpeya ye dhāna pīṭakaṃ aika dāttaṃ*).[7] That the weighted measure was used as land measure, as the amount to be sown or produced, depending upon the context of the grant,[8] is not unusual in the region. The *pīṭaka*, as a land measure, is also mentioned in the "Sankheda plate of Dadda-II of the Kalachuri year 392;" or, as a seed-sown-weighted-measure in some Gupta inscriptions as well.[9] D. C. Sircar and S. K. Maity calculated the *pīṭaka* as a land measure, or converted it from the land measure,

[5] Deambi, p. 55.
[6] Vogel, *Antiquities*, I, p. 195; D. N. Jha, "State Formation in Early Medieval Chamba," *Ideology and Society*, ed. D. N. Jha, Delhi, 1999, p. 130.
[7] J. N. Agrawal, IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 29, pp. 177, 179.
[8] For instance, according to "Chambā Grant of Ananda Varman," on the completion of *Ekādaśī* fasts paddy land was bestowed to Brāhmaṇas which could, sow 13 *pīṭakas* of seed; 54 *pīṭakas* of seed; 9 *pīṭakas*, etc. IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 75, pp. 291–3.
[9] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, IV, pp. 77, 160; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, p. 45ff; and *Epigraphia Indica*, XV, p. 130ff; cf. B. K. Kaul Deambi, "Economic Conditions of Ancient Chambā as Gleaned from its Inscriptions," p. 55.

as from *droṇavāpa*. The calculations, or conversions, however are not very convincing.

1 *pīṭaka* = 40 *droṇavāpas*
1 *droṇavāpa* = 48 acres/25 acres
1 *pīṭaka* = 1920 acres/1000 acres[10]
Alternatively, Maity calculated, 1 *pīṭaka* = 72/82 acres[11]

If we transform these into their modern equivalents, then in the Chambā area, the measures turn out to be very different from what they have been comprehended earlier.

1 *seer* = 16 *Chaṭāṅk (Chaṭāka)* or = 2½ lbs troy[12]
1 *seer* = 932.25 grams (1 *Chaṭāṅk* = 58.2 gms)
(In 1956, the Government of India fixed 1 *seer* = 933.1 gms)
1 *path* = *1seer* 8 *Chaṭāṅk* (wheat); and 1 *seer* and 2 *Chaṭāṅk* (paddy)
Or, 1 *path* = 1 kg 398 gms (wheat); and 1 kg 49 gms (paddy)
1 *ṭhīṃbī* = 2 *path* (3 *seer* wheat and 2 *seer* 4 *Chaṭāṅk* of paddy);
1 *ṭhīṃbī* = 2 kg 796 gms (wheat); 1 kg 980 gms (paddy)
(1 quintal of wheat = 7 *maṇa*; a quintal of rice = 5 *maṇa*)
1 *maṇa* = 40 *seers* = 1 *peḍā* = 20 *māṇī*
(40 Seers =1 *Maṇa* or Bazaar Maund = 100 lbs. troy.)
1 *Maṇa* or Bazaar Maund = 37.29 Kilograms
Similarly, 1 *peḍā* = 37.29 Kgs
1 *māṇī* = 2 *seer* = 1 kg 864 gms

On converting these to the land measure:

8 *ṭhīṃbī* = 1 *druṇa* = 22 kg 368 gms of wheat seed; 15 kg 840 gms (paddy)
1 Kanāl of land = 2 *ṭhīṃbī* of seed corn sown = 5 kg 592 gms (wheat) and 3 kg 960 gms (paddy)
1 Kanāl of land = 605 sq yds. or 505.857 sq. mts.[13]

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[10] D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 342, fn. 7.

[11] S. K. Maitey, *Economic Life in Northern India in the Gupta Period*, Delhi, 1980 (2nd edn.), pp. 40–41.

[12] 8 Rattī = 1 Māśā = 15 troy grains
12 Māśā = 1 Tolā = 180 ditto
80 Tolās (or Sikkā weight) = 1 Seer = 2½ lbs troy
40 seers =1 *Maṇa* or Bazaar Maund = 100 lbs troy
The comparative measure in the early 19th century would be:
1 Tolā = 11.66 grams
1 Seer = 80 Tolās = 932 gm (in 1956 Government of India fixed 1 seer = 933.1 gms)
1 Maṇa = 40 seers = 37.29 Kilograms.

[13] A *kanāl* is subdivided into 20 *marlās* where each marlā is about 25.30 sq mts. However, after the Independence, the *Kanāl* was standardised as equivalent of 500 sq mts and a *marlā* being 25 sq mts.

(Under the British rule, the Marlā and Kanāl were standardized so that a Kanāl of land measured exactly 605 square yards or 1/8th of an acre.)

> 1 acre = 8 *kanāl* = 2 *druṇa* of seed corn sown (31.680–44.736 kgs of seed sown)
> 1 *Khārī* = 20 *peḍā*[14] = 745.6 kgs

If we take the larger geographical area of the Himachal Himalayas into consideration, the weighted measures differed not only in nomenclature, but also the 'measures' that were thus denoted. The reasons were similar to Chambā. Often the weighted measures were quantified in volume, which of course differed from region to region. For instance, it has been pointed out that the people of Spiti

> have a measure called a *maṇee* (*māṇī*?) or *thee*, which is a small wooden cup: this comes in two basic sizes: the one used when buying, called *chagreh*, holding twenty-nine pounds' weight of grain; and the other, by which they sell, called *googreh*, which only holds twenty-one pounds' weight.

Similarly, in Lahul the measure was *bhar* and *path*; sixteen *paths* making one *bhār*. If translated into the linear measure, one *path* was equivalent to 95 square yards and one *bhār* was 1520 sq. yds. Thus, one acre (of 4844 sq. yds.) was equivalent to three *bhars* and three *paths*.[15] This further accentuates the problem of standardisation of various measures and their conversion.

There are many questions about the conversion of the early inscriptional measures and their modern equivalents, as Vogel and others have discussed. Thus, *peḍā, pīḍā* or *pīṛā* are all the variants of *pīṭaka* and accordingly a *pīṭaka* is equivalent to forty *seers* (37 kgs 280 gms). In the same light is one *druṇa*, equivalent of *droṇavāpa* or *droṇa*, or half of the Maund/*Maṇa* (about 20 kgs, though the weight varies depending upon the type of food-grains). There are other landed categories as well, which came up in the later epigraphs. For instance, according to the "Chambā Plate of Prithvi Simha, VS 1702," issued in 1645 CE,

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[14] According to CBSMC 20 *māṇī* make one *pīḍā* and 20 *pīḍās* are equivalent to one *khārī*, J-1, p. 40.

[15] Capt. A. F. P. Harcourt, *The Himalayan Districts of Kullu, Lahoul and Spiti*, London, 1871; Delhi, 1972 (reprint), p. 76.

twelve *pīḍās* of seed corn were required for the land measuring two *lāhrīs*.[16] Vogel calculated this as:

1 *lāhrī* = 6 *pīḍās* = 3 acres
For 1 acre = 2 *pīḍās* of seed corn was required.

However, there are problems with this conversion. For example, if we consider the acreage then about 90 kgs–130 kgs of wheat/rice seed would be required. But, if we consider the *pīḍās* conversions, 223.6 kgs of seed would be required. This is clearly untenable. Yet, according to the "Sarahan Plate of Prithvi Simha, VS 1702," issued in 1646 CE, five *pīḍās* of seed corn were required in 1¼ *lāhrīs* of land[17] (1 *lāhrī* = 4 *pīḍās* or 1 acre = 1.3 *pīḍās*). This is closer to our calculations.

The number of local terms for the landed-weighted measure is also problematic, making it difficult to translate and standardise them uniformly. For instance, according to the "Chambā Plate of Prithvi Simha VS 1717" issued in 1660 CE, a revenue demanded was one *khārī* for the first harvest per year from two *kunū* of land or ½ *khārī* per *kunū* of land for the first of the two harvests annually.[18] Though *khārī* has been calculated as equivalent to 7½ quintals in the metric system, *kunū* would be a huge acreage; thus, our computations are to be discounted. These different computations, however, emphasise the hazards of measuring the pre-modern agrarian economy in India, particularly in the western Himalayas.

Not only the 'measure' obtained by considering the seed-sown varied by the crop type (for example, wheat requiring less seed than rice), but also varied because of different soil types. For example, the loamy soil required different amounts of seed from the clay soil and the resultant out-put was different as well. The crops sown in different soil types therefore provided different measures when converted from volume to weighted measure. This in turn results in different landed measures. There is, however, a rough estimate by which these may be converted, if we follow the popular tradition. According to this tradition, the seed sown to the productivity ratio, depending upon the soil type or irrigation facilities is as:

[16] *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 72, p. 152.
[17] *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 73, p. 153.
[18] *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 75, pp. 156–57.

A unit of seed sown reaps a crop about:
Polācya or irrigated = 20 times (25 times)
Mid times = 10 times (15 times)
Bañjar or non-irrigated (with good rains) = 10 times (10–12 times)

If we follow the conservative account then:

1 acre = 2 *peḍā* seed sown, should yield = 40 *peḍās*, and 30 to 20 *peḍās* respectively in the wet, partially wet and non-irrigated (though with/during good rains) land; or in the ratio of 4:3:2 respectively.

When the colonial institutions took over the western Himalayan hill-states, the land settlement regime had to negotiate differential rents, owing to these differing nomenclatures. Some of them were retained, though the Persian terminology, introduced by the Todar Mal's land-settlement or *bandobast*, was also retained when Chambā was merged with the Indian union in 1948. There was a similar tri-partite nomenclature of the soil types (irrigated, mid-times and non-irrigated), with certain changes within the categories, realising different revenue. Thus, *dhāni-i-aw'al* was the irrigated land producing generally two crops (the *kharif* or the summer crop usually being paddy/rice), the soil being climatically fully suitable for paddy cultivation. The second category of irrigated land (*dhāni-i-doem*) was also irrigated and paddy producing, but due to the inadequate irrigation facilities or 'unsuitable climate', as in the midlands belt (*majaiṭh*), had lower productivity. Similarly, *dhāni-i-soem* or the third quality produced only one crop of paddy. There were, however, other irrigated lands where rice was not the main *kharif* crop, following a similar tripartite classification as *kulahu-i-awal, doem* and *soem*. In the rain-dependant or non-irrigated typology there was a similar triplet: *barāni-i-awal, doem* and *soem*. The first category was of the rain-dependent land situated sufficiently near the *ābādī* or habitation and, as a consequence, could be sufficiently manured, thus producing two crops a year with the summer crop being paddy. The distance of the fields from the habitat has a bearing on the manure pattern. This became the logic of the tri-partite classification in the rain-dependent (*barāni*) category. Similarly, the uncultivated land was categorized as the *banjar jadīd*, that which was under cultivation but left fallow for less than five years; the *banjar qadīm*, fallow for more than five years; the *callā*, uncultivated but a private grassland; the *baṇī*, uncultivated land, but used to grow fodder leaves; the *ban*, for grazing and forested

produce; and the *gāhr/trākar*, used as meadows and forests.[19] The land classification, thus, is an explicit delineation of the mechanism by which the revenue regime maximised the fiscal returns by grading the land-soil and irrigation arrangement, as well as the earlier 'waste land'. Therefore, the state taxed not only the cultivated area, but the forests, meadows and 'fodder' was also taxed. Yet, this classification and the widening revenue net provide us a glimpse of the agrarian activities, and the ways in which the agrarian society functioned.

Local Cess and Revenue

There were certain local cess like *deśa-rīta* (literally, customary dues) and the levy of goats, which were contributed to the state or to the sacred institutions like Charpaṭnāth (in this case), for the purpose of sacrifice on particular occasions. All those who were granted land were, perhaps, supposed to contribute such a cess if not mentioned otherwise in the grant charter, as in the "Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Plate of Balabhadra, VS 1686." This plate, issued in 1630 CE, exempted a Brāhmaṇa named Gopī, from paying such a cess, as well as also "from the levy of goats."[20] The particular exception confirms that unless so stated in the charter of the grant, the grantees were supposed to pay local cess and that the "*muāfī* grants" were only exempted from paying the land-rent. One was supposed to defray various cess, mostly customary and local in nature, directly to the state. In this way the state minimised the alienation of revenue, reclaiming them through other ways like these cess. Only land rent was alienated to these institutions. This understanding is radically different from the hypothesis of "Indian Feudalism," that argues that the total revenue was alienated when making the land grants, particularly to the religious institutions.

Hutchison, in 1904, observed that all the *jāgīrdārs* were liable to pay a local cess called *bāch*, translated as revenue for cash, and according to an old usage *gharū bāch* was also realised from the *jāgīrdārs* in addition to the *bāch* cess. "*Gharū bāch* means cash paid from the *jāgīrdār's* purse,

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[19] T. S. Negi, *Settlement Report of the Chamba District (First Regular Settlement 1951–58)*, Simla, 1966, no. 8. I&II, pp. 6–8.

[20] *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 53, pp. 118–20.

that is, from his own private income, as distinct from *bāch*, which is a fixed portion of the cash revenue drawn from his tenants."[21] Similarly, the *begārūs* (those who performed forced labour) paid *chakrundā*, that is, cash in lieu of service. It is clearly stated that no *jāgīrdārs* could eject a cultivator as long as he paid his revenue in full and rendered the 'due service' (a sort of corvée) to his landholder. Similarly, no *jāgīrdār* "could reclaim waste [land] or realise revenue on it."[22]

Most of the rent free grants or *muāfīs*, by 1904, were in the *wazārat* of Bhramaur and Chambā, due to the large number of temples in Bhramaur and the capital, the Chambā township. The *muāfīs* attached to the temples were exempt from taxation, but those held by the Brāhmaṇas were liable to the *bāch* or cash cess, and *maṅgaṇī* or grain cess.[23] Using the landed property (tilling, grazing, etc.) of the grant also amounted to a tax for usage. For instance, according to the "Mindhal Plate of Prithvisimha, VS 1698," issued in 1641 CE, the people of Minḍhal were pledged to provide donations and a fee for protection (*dūna dāthar*) as well as, "a ram is to be given as dues (for grazing sheep and cattle) on the Gadhā Dhār (the name of a pasture) donated to it."[24] What is abundantly clear from this is that the state lost no opportunity to maximise its revenue; the tax base was widened by introducing all sorts of cess, which were levied on all sorts of landed arrangement, whether secular or sacred. This was critical for the survival of a small mountainous state, with limited cultivable land and resources.

After the formation of Himachal Pradesh as an Indian province, all the grants were regularised and "allowed to continue subject to the payment of cesses."[25] Therefore, between 1957 and 1959, 1220 *muāfī* or rent-free grant cases were disposed of by the Assistant Settlement

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[21] CDG 1904, p. 281.

[22] CDG 1904, pp. 280–81. By 1904, the following were the *jāgīrs* in different wazārats of Chambā: in the *Sadar Wazārat* or Chambā, these were in the parganās of—Kharoṭ, Kuhal, Guḍiāl, Mehlā, Rajeṛa, Samrā, Udaipur, and Ḍhuṅḍ. Except Kharoṭ, the whole parganā formed the *jāgīr* of Miān Budhi Singh, while all others comprised of the number of villages assigned. Similarly, in the Wazārat of Churāh, there were two *jāgīrs* in the parganā of Bagor and Bāgī; in Pāngī, two *jāgīrs* were in the parganā of Lahul itself; in the Wazārat of Bhramaur the *jāgīrs* were in the parganās of Ulhāṅsā, Suaī and Gharolā; and finally, in the Wazārat of Bhaṭṭiyāt two *jāgīrs*, consisting of a number of villages, were in the parganās of Chuārī and Raipur. CDG 1904, p. 281.

[23] CDG 1904, pp. 281–82.

[24] *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 70, p. 149.

[25] Ibid., p. 39.

Officer (823 in 1957, 368 in 1958 and 29 in 1959).[26] Certain 'assignments' (to use the language of the land-settlement regime) were allowed to continue: 252.54 *jāgīrs* in Bhaṭṭiyāt; 2924.28 in Chambā; 13,903.90 in Churah; 740.24 in Bhramaur and 15.66 in Pāngī. This is in comparison to the 2506.90 other 'revenue assesses' in Bhaṭṭiyāt; 15,336.37 in Chambā; 3792.28 in Churah; 303.60 in Bhramaur; and 1079.65 in Pāngī. What is interesting is that the number of people who had *jāgīrs*, of one or another sort, outnumbered the people without *jāgīrs* in Churah (78% of the total) and Bhramaur (about 74% of the total); but the number of *jāgīrs* in Bhaṭṭiyāt were about 9% of the total and about 14% in Chambā.[27] This is reflective of the policy of the restructuring of the peripheral areas, which were agriculturally not productive, while maximising the revenues from the agricultural core areas.

According to the first regular settlement report of the Chambā district 1951–58, the Jogīs held 4,494 *bīghās* of land out of which 3,466 was the cultivated area outside the township of Chambā. Similarly, outside the Chambā township, various temples owned 19,355 *bīghās* of land, out of which 16,632 was the cultivated area.[28] The Jogīs, thus, possessed about 21% of the cultivated land in comparison to all the religious institutions; though about 0.4% in terms of the percentage of the total area of Chambā and about 0.7% of the total cultivated area in the Chambā state. The Jogīs, like the members of the ritually low castes, who were a part of the caste-based affirmative action, could retain most of their land. They further manipulated the records to evict their tenants and claimed that they were the tillers of the soil. This meant an extended litigation and notices, served to the actual tillers, as the documents produced in the legal section (V.2, 3 & 4) suggest. The Jogīs used their religious licence, and familiarity with the judicial procedures and literacy, to gain land at the expense of other low caste tillers in the 1960s (for a detailed discussion, see Chapter 4.V).

While dealing with the landed productivity and revenue terms used in the documents, one needs to also take cognizance of the unit of currency used. Though the earliest epigraphs refer to the usage of currency such as *drammas* or *dāma* (from Greek *drachma*), for Chambā and Kāngrā in the 1200s, as in "the *Baijnāth praśastī*" or "the Luj Fountain

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[26] Ibid., p. 40.
[27] Ibid., table 130, p. 38.
[28] T. S. Negi, *Settlement Report of the Chamba District (First Regular Settlement 1951–58)*, Simla, P&SPS, 1961, p. 11.

Inscription of Jasata;" *Rupiah* were also used as mentioned in "the 1440s grant of Bhaotavarman;" and the Mughal coins were in circulation by the mid 16th century in Chambā.[29] According to Vogel,[30]

> the only coin special to Chambā is the *cākḷī*, five of which makes an *ānnā*, and it has been in use in all likelihood from ancient times. On it the Sāhilla Varman caused to strike a pierced ear, the symbol of a yogi, in honour of Charpaṭnāth, and this has been continued to the present day (1933). The later Rājās added the *Viṣṇu-pāda*, or the feet of Viṣṇu, on their coins.

The recent most *cākḷī* were the copper coins issued by Rājā Charhat Singh (1808–44 AD) and Rājā Sri Singh (1844–70 CE) in Chambā, while Lakar Shah of Baśolī used them to register his rebellion against the state (1844).[31] The documents in this selection, however, refer to Rupee, *Ānnā* and Paisā. These were not equivalent to today's metric system conversion (amended in September 1955). During the colonial era, one Indian Rupee consisted of 16 *Ānnās*. Each *Ānnā* consisted of 4 Pice (or Paisā) and each Pice consisted of 3 'Pies'. In effect, one Rupee consisted of 192 pies. The *Indian Coinage Act*, that became operative since April 1957, did not change the basic nomenclature. The Rupee remained unchanged in value and classification. It, however, was now divided into 100 Paisā, instead of 16 Ānnā or 64 Pice. For an easy recognition by the people, the new decimal Paisā was termed as 'Nayā Paisā' (or New Paisā) until 1 June 1964, after which the term 'Nayā' was dropped. These documents obviously use the scheme of Rupee-*Ānnā*-Paisā (1–16–64). Interestingly, the cowries shells were used as a unit making a Paisā, i.e. 3 Pies were 3 'cowries' equivalent to one Paisā.

Festivals and Ceremonies as Celebrated in the Temple Complex of Chambā

The festival cycle was based on the lunar calendar, and each month was divided into two halves. The first half-*pakṣa* of the month was the dark one-*Kṛṣṇa*, the period of waning moon that culminated in the

[29] IHHPPKAHT, insp. nos. 43, 69 & 79, pp. 224–5, 270–1, 307; *Antiquities*, I, p. 205.
[30] J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, I, Lahore, 1933, p. 286.
[31] Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Currency System of Chamba," in *A Western Himalayan Kingdom*, pp. 81–89.

full-moon; and the second half was the light-*Śukla*, or the period of waxing moon. The month began with the new moon day, ideally falling between the 14–18th day of the Gregorian calendar. The cycle of months reflected the movement of Sun in a particular *Rāśī* or the zodiac.[32] The monthly cycle followed, with local variations, was as given below:

Caitra (*Caita*)	April–May	*Vaiśākha* (*Biśākha*)	May-June
Jyeṣṭha (*Jeṭh*)	June–July	*Āṣāḍha* (*Hāḍa*)	July-August
Śrāvaṇa (*Sāvana*)	August–September	*Bhādrapada* (*Bhādon*)	September–October
Āśvina (*Aśnī*)	October–November	*Kārtika* (*Kātī*)	November-December
Mārgaśīrṣa (*Śisu*)	December–January	*Pauṣa*	January–February
Māgha	February–March	*Phālguna* (*Phagaṇa*)	March–April

The festival cycle started with the New Year, celebrated in the month of *Caita*, and the harvest festival *Basoā*, falling on the first full-moon in the New Year, was the first major celebration.[33] While the lunar calendar started in *Caitra*; the solar calendar, as followed in the Panjāb and Chambā, began in *Vaiśākha*: when the Sun enters the constellation Aries (*Meṣa*). The festivals were, however, determined by the position of Moon, usually on the new-Moon or the full-Moon days. But there were exceptions, the two eleven days (*Ekadaśīs*), as well as the eighth day of the dark half (*Aṣṭamī*) were also significant. These were the *tithīs* (literally, the lunar reckonings), the count of the cycle of Moon in each waning-waxing half. The precise date and time was calculated by the 27 *nakṣatras* or the lunar asterisms, and the movement of the Moon through them. For all practical purposes, the festival time was lunar, *tithīs*, and not solar, the *pratipadā* (*praviṣṭhe*); the lunar-solar

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[32] *Rāśī* is determined by the placement of Moon in a particular zodiac. When the Sun moves in the same zodiac, for the period of about twenty eight days, that determines the lunar month.

[33] Though not specific to Chambā, it would still be of some interest to note that each of these months are given auspicious/inauspicious value: *Caitra* is associated with sorrow, *Jyeṣṭha* with death, *Āṣaḍha* with the loss of animals, *Bhādrapada* with emptiness, *Āśvina* with strife, *Māgha* with the fear of fire, *Vaiśākha* with the acquisition of wealth, *Śrāvaṇa* with increase in animals, *Mārgaśīrṣa* and *Pauṣa* with grain wealth (harvest), and *Phālguna* with wealth. J. F. Pugh, "Into the Almanac: Time, Meaning, and Action in North Indian Society," *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 17, 1, 1983, p. 33.

calendar tracked both dates, to obviate any confusion.[34] The Chambā documents sometimes do provide the *tithīs*, and always provide the *pratipadā* (*praviṣṭhe*).

The state participated in and promoted major pan-Indian festivities. The festival rituals were also occasions to make sectarian statements. For instance, in Chapter 1 we navigated the sudden rise of Vaiṣṇava calendric festivals, particularly Dīvālī and Duśaharā, coinciding with the rise of the Vaiṣṇava ethos in Chambā, a subtle message to the followers of other sects about the changing alignments. Yet, the festival cycle also provided the state with an opportunity to accommodate diverse sectarian beliefs by introducing their festivities within the structure of the broad-based state-sponsored festival cycle. This obviously could not escape the hierarchic notions, that so conveniently determined the sectarian space and rank in the society. In terms of festivities, this was determined by "the scale of celebrations," the amount offered and/or the number of days set aside.

As the state ruled on behalf of the "sovereign-deity," all the festivities were celebrated and determined through Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Special types of consecrated food (*prasāda*) would be prepared and offered to the deity on these occasions. Then the festivities would follow, the deity being a part of and the sanctioning authority of these festivities. But in order to understand this we have to understand how Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa was projected as the 'sovereign-deity'.

The first part of the ceremonial projection was by associating the symbols of royalty with the deity, as discussed earlier. These consisted of the usage of *chatra*-parasol, *cāmara*-whisk, the trumpets-*raṇasinghā*, drums-*nakārā*, musicians and heralds (playing on *dundhabī*), palanquin-litters and horses and chariots. All these symbols-of-power were the royal prerogatives, used only by the Rājā or the ruler who was authorised by the deity to do so, and in some cases, although not in regard to the whisk and the canopy, by his courtiers. The deity as the custodian of the sacred realm, particularly Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, enjoyed all these symbols-of-power.

The responsibility for looking after the deity and the hierarchy of servitors and objects involved in the daily worship was integrated into the structure of festivities. For example, let us briefly consider

[34] A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, 1954, Delhi, 1984 (reprint), Appendix II: Astronomy.

the festivities of *Nirjala Ekādaśī*, in 1904. The festival is celebrated on the eleventh day of the light half of Moon in the month of *Jyeṣṭha* or *Hāḍa*. On this day, the deity, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa was adorned in all its ornaments, after the daily ritual bathing ceremony early in the morning. The duty of the chief *pujārī*-priests was also rescheduled on this day and the chief *pujārī* of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa inspected and assumed the charge of the ornaments of the deity. In the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, the following objects were used to prepare the *ṭhaṅḍāī* or sherbet, offered as *bhoga* (food offering) to the deity:[35]

> Paste of poppy powder 500 gms; black pepper 50 gms; *Ail-Dānā* or black-cardamom 50 gms; cinnamon sticks 30 gms; cardamom 25 gms; *ṭhaṅḍāī sāj* (Rose-water and *cāra-maghaz* or sesame and raisins) 200 gms; almonds 50 gms; sugar 4 kg; ice 8 kg.

The *ṭhaṅḍāī* or sherbet was also offered to the people on the warm day of the summer month when this festival was celebrated. People undertook a vow not to eat grain and salt on this particular day and ate only *phulan, śüla* (both are types of fruit seeds) and fruits.[36] The rulers made land offerings to the Brāhmaṇas, as is evident from the landed charters made over to them as discussed in Chapter 1.

The major preoccupation of these festivals, as also for the daily pūjā, was with the type of food served to the deity (*prasāda*). This is consistent with the larger 'Hindu' assumption about food and its place in the cosmos. In fact, as Khare has pointed out, food acquired very physical and moral forms in the Hindu cosmos. It was the primary link between the humans and gods. This association was symbolically significant for it presupposed the dual role in production: the human contributing the labour and technology, and the divine controlling the elements.[37] It is in this sense that the *prasāda* or consecrated-food became significant and was contested as a redistributive honour by the devotees.[38] By offering food to the god this relationship was constantly renewed, affirming the relationship at various levels: the paradigmatic

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[35] *Register Ā-13: Utsava va Tyohāra Manāṇe kā Register (Register for celebrating the festivals and ceremonies), 1997.*

[36] CDG 1904, pp. 214. *Phulan* is *Fagopyrum emarginatum*; *śüla* is *Amaranthus anardana*, CDG, p. 243.

[37] R. S. Khare, *Culture and Reality: Essays on the Hindu System of Managing Foods*, Simla, 1976.

[38] Arjun Appadurai, "Gastro-Politics in Hindu South Asia," *American Ethnologist (Symbolism and Cognition)*, 8, 3, 1981, pp. 494–511.

sovereign, in this case Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, and the state; the state and its 'subjects'. A similar relationship was fostered between the sovereign shrine and the subservient shrines, like Charpaṭnāth, which in turn had a similar relationship with their devotees (see diagram 2.1, Chapter 2). The food actualized the relationship between the sacred and the secular; and by extending this analogy, between the ruler and the ruled. It is in this sense that the redistributive honour in the symbol of food was significant both for the secular and sacred realms.

This conception of food may also be understood in the context of caste categories, which one cannot escape how-so-ever in the South-Asian social analysis. The documents typically specify the type of food offering: cooked or raw. What is particularly interesting is the usage of water in the cooked food which could be seen as leading to pollution. Thus, the food cooked within the temple kitchen, by ritually clean Brāhmaṇa (*Miśra*) was offered to the deity; and the devotees also offered cooked food to the local-popular deities, but all other offerings were of uncooked food. This also was true for animal sacrifices (made, for instance, to Charpaṭnāth), ostensibly made to acknowledge the idea of 'cosmic-food-cycle' (the Upaniṣadic notion of the sacrifice of the 'self' to the Self), though its implications and objectives may be nuanced, depending upon the categories one is considering. However, the same food honour rule applied to the sacrifice as well: the priests or the ritualists (low caste Sippi *celās* in the case of Maṇimaheśa, for instance) got the prized head, the butcher was given the skin and entrails, and the flesh was cooked and distributed among the devotees as the consecrated-food. This notion of food offerings, in different contexts and shrines, had a bearing on the larger transactional logic of giving and receiving; in establishing a hierarchy; the ranking of various kinds of food according to the relationship between the food used, offered and cooked; and the regulation of food transfer, exchange, transaction, and circulation.[39]

The state used not only the calendric festivals to control these redistributive honours to the individuals and shrines, but also promoted communal feasts on festive occasions associated with the popular shrines. The *Śrī-kārā*, or the commemorative feast of Charpaṭ, was one such occasion; the feast of Suhī-mātā (details in Appendix-II) was another. These feasts were significant because, unlike the Lakṣmī-

[39] Khare, *Culture and Reality*, p. 120.

Nārāyaṇa complex where caste rules were upheld and ranking fostered through redistributive honour, these popular feasts had a liminal character. These were the sites that constructed 'communitas': where the rules of caste and hierarchy break down and the distribution is equal and to all (as also in the case of *langar* or communal feasts that are offered in the temple-kitchens or in Gurūdwārās). In these feasts, all types of food were served and through them the state affirmed a renewed contract with its subjects as an equal 'entity': the upholder of rights, rather than the agency of unequal distribution. In a way, these feasts fostered/renewed a direct relationship among the Giver: the distributor: and the producer; the God: the king: and the peasant or shepherd. The details presented in the documents dealing with these feasts, the type of food and cooking involved, not to mention the expense incurred, reflects how seriously the state took this whole enterprise, as well as the enthusiasm of the population that participated in large numbers. Khare would call this as "*yogakśema*" whereby, the "multidimensional provider-protector concept has, over time, become a part of what we may call segmentary social dominance. Here the failures and weaknesses of the socially excluded and weak protectors-providers are always expected to be covered by those more hegemonic and powerful."[40] He further emphasised the political-social domain:[41]

> The notion of the 'provider-protector' or *yogaksema* concept (in popular culture variously called the *poshaka-poshya, raja-praja, malik-sevak, and mai-baap* relationships) therefore posits a moral, political and jural (*dharrnadharma, ucitaanucita*) compact between the provider and the dependent, ruler and the people, master and servant, and the powerful and weak.

In all the calendric festivities, the temple complex—consisting of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and Lakṣmī-Dāmodara: the triumvirate within the perimeter of the sovereign temple complex—made the basic unit. Interestingly, the Candragupta temple, the ancient-most is left out. The services, like its security and priests, were rotated within the triumvirate only. Let us first consider the 'Duty Roster'.

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[40] R. S. Khare, "The issue of 'right to food' among the Hindus: Notes and comments," *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 1998; 32; 2, p. 267.

[41] Khare, "The issue of right to food," p. 266; Grain in all folk rituals, Ann Grodzins Gold, "Grains of Truth: Shifting Hierarchies of Food and Grace in Three Rajasthani Tales," *History of Religions*, 38, 2,1998, pp. 150–171.

Every month, after fifteen days, the duty, both of security guards and priests, would change for all the three temples of the complex—of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and Lakṣmī-Dāmodara. The bimonthly roster began on the 3rd and 18th *praviṣṭhe* of every lunar month. The record for daily duties of these functionaries suggests that the individual priests functioned for each of these temples with a single security guard for all these temples. Each priest performed his duty at each of these three temples in rotation, before being replaced by another. A roster was maintained for the smooth functioning and monitoring of such duties. The roster meticulously entered every possible detail about the person concerned (like parentage, place and caste) and was counter-signed by him for the record. The service roster suggests that all the security people and the priests were Brāhmaṇas.[42]

I translate one such undertaking, as in the register for duty change, for Samvat 2018, or 1960–61 CE.[43]

3 Caitra	Śrī Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa jī, Śrī Rādhā Kṛṣṇa jī
2018	Śrī Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Dāmodar jī

I, Ṭeka Chand, son of Gangā Ram, caste, am a resident of *Mohallā* Baṅghoṭū, Chambā town.

My duty (*pālī*, literally—turn) begins today, the 3rd of *Caitra*, Samvat 2018 in the above mentioned temples, replacing Jai Gopāla, a Brāhmaṇa, of village Proṭha, in the parganā of Sāho. I present myself as a security guard of all three mentioned temples and undertake to guard the entire (immovable) property, gold, silver, utensils, (other) weighted property and cash as mentioned in the register of the trust of the temple dealing with the temple's property, to the best of my physical capability ('health' is the word used in the undertaking) and consciousness. I assume the charge from Jai Gopāla in front of (witnessed by) Mehtā Narottama Dutta and the store in-charge (*koṭhārī*) Śāṅtī Dutta and append my signatures for the record.

Signed

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[42] Manager, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Trust, *Register, Daily Presence (Monthly) of Pujārī and Security Guard of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa from Saṃvat 2018.*

[43] *Register, Daily Presence (Monthly) of Pujārī and Security Guard of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa from Samvat 2018*, "Description of Presence and Promise," 3 *Caitra*, 2018.

The priests also took a similar oath, of guarding the movable and immovable property of the temple/s to the "best of their physical capability and consciousness," and resumed their priestly charge from the Manager of the Trust, in this case Mehtā Narottam Dutta. There are, however, instances of interchange of the temple duty. For instance in the same roster, beginning 3rd of *Caitra* in Samvat 2018, the priest of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa officiated in lieu of one Bhagatī Prasāda, as noted in the register:[44]

> 3 *Caitra* 2018 Śrī Rādhā Kṛṣṇa jī
>
> I, Śāntī Dutta, son of Bal Kṛṣṇa, caste Brāhmaṇa, am a resident of Mohallā Banghoṭū, Chambā town.
>
> As the duty (*pālī*) of Bhagatī Prasāda, son of Ambakā *Prasāda*, resident of Surāḍhā in the Chambā town, begins today, on the 3rd of *Caitra*, Samvat 2018, in the above mentioned temple, replacing Kailāśa Dutta, a Brāhmaṇa, of *Mohallā* Obhī in the Chambā town, I present myself, in lieu of Bhagatī Prasāda, to perform the *pūjā* of the mentioned temple as its *pūjārī*—priest and undertakes to guard. . . .
>
> Signed

Details of Cloth Code in the shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa

There was a code for the types of costume and ornaments to be used by the 'sovereign-deity', keeping in mind the changing seasons and festivities. Every year, new clothes were offered to the deity on the festivity of *Basanta-Pañcamī*, the fifth day of the Spring festival—heralding the new year. The cloth code was about the dominant colour and material used for daily wearing, and also for the festive occasion, in consonance with the changing seasons. There are six seasonal conceptions and a broader correspondence with them may be seen in the document produced from 1960–61 (Chapter 4–IV). The six seasons are:

> 1. Summer (*Grīṣma*). 2. The rains (*Varṣā*). 3. Autumn (*Śarada*). 4. Early winter (*Hemanta*). 5. Late winter (*Śiṣira*). 6. Spring (*Vasanta*).[45]

[44] *Register, Daily Presence (Monthly) of Pujārī and Security Guard of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa from Samvat 2018*, "Description of Presence and Promise," 3 Caitra, 2018.

[45] Martha Ann Selby, *The Circle of Six Seasons: A Selection from Old Tamil, Prakrit and Sanskrit Poetry*, New Delhi, 2003.

Table 3.1 The daily dress code in the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa complex

Date (From)	Temple	Details of the dress code	Date (To)
1 *Vaiśākha* 2018	L.N.	1 shawl (green colour) of *Paśmīnā*	
	R.K.	1 shawl (*Farda*) of red colour	
	L.D.	1 shawl (*Farda*) of red colour	
12 *Jeṭh*	L.N.	1 Silk *dhotī*, pink colour (*ātiśī*) with triple hemming (*goṭṭā*); 1 silk *dupaṭṭā* with *jhālara*, pink colour (*ātiśī pece* wālā); 1 *Khesī kā* pink *dupaṭṭā*-stole; a pair of pink handkerchief	8/4/2018
	R.K.	1 *Makhamal* (velvet) *dhotī*, red colour, blue border	8/4/2018
	L.D.	2 *dhotī*, vermilion, water green crisp border	8/4/2018
10/3	L.N.	1 Silk *dhotī*, blue colour (floral) with triple hemming (*goṭṭā*); 1 *Banārasī* blue *dupaṭṭā*-'wrap' (large size), 1 silk blue *dupaṭṭā*-stole (creamy floral design *pece-wālā*); 1 big *Banārasī* handkerchief, green; Red fine *Banārasī* turban; 1 red silk turban (*daryāī*)	8/4/2018
	Śrī Gopījī	1 *dhotī*, green colour; 2 green *dupaṭṭā*; *Kalgī* or plumes of *Huṅkārā* (Himalayan Monal)[46]	8/4/2018
	L.D.	1 *dhotī* blue; 1 *dupaṭṭā*, green, light creamy crisp border	
		(*goṭṭā*) 1 *dupaṭṭā* (*Kanṭhī* neck-cloth) green with *goṭṭā*	18 *Bhādon*
	R.K.	2 *dhotī* green; 1 *dupaṭṭā* Banārasī, light red; 1 silk *dupaṭṭā*, green (*dhanak wālā*)	18 *Bhādon*
	B.G.	1 silk *dupaṭṭā*, saffron with *goṭṭā*	
18 *Bhādon*	L.N.	1 *dhotī* of Tasa with *goṭṭā*; 1 fine *Banārasī* red *dupaṭṭā*; 1 *dupaṭṭā* *Banārasī*, Kanṭhī (large size); 1 *dupaṭṭā* of *Ṭassar*[47] (*pece wālā*);	

[46] *Lophophorus impejanus*, Jan Willem den Besten, *Birds of Kangra*, McLeod Ganj-Dharamsala, 2004, pp. 50–51, 162.

[47] *Tussore* is a kind of silk.

Table 3.1 (*cont.*)

Date (From)	Temple	Details of the dress code	Date (To)
		1 big *Banārasī* handkerchief, green; Red fine *Banārasī* turban; 1 *dupaṭṭā*—stole of *Khasa* of Onion colour; 1 pair of *Kamar-bandh* or waist-band of *Ṭassar; Kalgī* or plumes of *Huṅkāra* (Himalayan Monal)	4 *Aśvin* 2018
	Śrī Gopījī	2 *dhotī*, 2 *dupaṭṭā* of onion colour with *goṭṭā*	
	L.D.	1 *dhotī* of *Makhmal* (velvet), red; 1 *dupaṭṭā*, red, light creamy crisp border (*goṭṭā*); 1 *dupaṭṭā* red with goṭṭā (*daryāī*)	4 *Aśvin*
	R.K.	2 *dhotī* (*daryāī*), vermilion with *goṭṭā*; 1 *dupaṭṭā Banārasī*, light red; 1 *dupaṭṭā*—scarf, green, with red border	4 Aśvin
	B.G.	1 *dupaṭṭā*—scarf, of *Khasa*, red (*pece-wālā*)	
3 *Aśvin*	L.N.	1 *dhotī*, green with red border; 1 *dupaṭṭā*—stole, red, *pece-wālā*; Upper, silk, green with *goṭṭā*	
3 *Kārtika*	L.N.	1 *dhotī* of *Makhamala* (velvet, plush); 1 *dupaṭṭā*—stole, red with cream coloured floral design; Collared upper of Indigo colour; 1 pair of *Kamar-bandha* of saffron colour	
	L.D.	1 *dhotī* of *Khasa*, red with floral design and *goṭṭā* border	
	R.K	2 silk *dhotī* of saffron colour with *goṭṭā*; 1 *Banārasī dupaṭṭā* (small) of onion colour; 1 Upper, silken, green with *goṭṭā*; 1 blanket (*khesī*) vermilion coloured (large)	
Kārtika	L.N.	1 *dhotī* green with red border; 1 *dupaṭṭā-gamchā*, frilled with *pece wālā* of indigo colour; fine red *Banārasī dupaṭṭā*—stole with red hemmed border; turban, red with plumes of *Huṅkāra* (Himalayan Monal); big-shawl (*duśālā*), red; *Ārsī*, red with *goṭṭā*; a pair of band.	

Table 3.1 (*cont.*)

Date (From)	Temple	Details of the dress code	Date (To)
		1 Big silk quilt, with floral design; small quilt (*lehfoṭū*); red blanket (*khesī*)	
	L.D.	1red *dhotī* of Governett with *goṭṭā*; red *dupaṭṭā, pece wālā*; 1 *duśālā* winter-wrap/shawl, 1 blue *lehfoṭū* or heavy-quilt	
	R.K.	2 vermilion *dhotīs, durayāī*, with frilled *goṭṭā*; 1 silk *dupaṭṭā*, green with *goṭṭā* 1 *Banārasī* red *dupaṭṭā*; 1 *Farda*—thick shawl/blanket-shawl, red; 1 blue *lehfoṭū*—quilt	
	B.G.	1 *Farda*—thick wrap around, red	
New clothes were bestowed on the occasion of *Basanta Pañcamī.*			
Jeṭh	L.N.	1 silk floral *dhotī* of light green (like *Āmala*)[48] colour; 1 silk floral embroidered *dupaṭṭā*—stole; 1 *dhotī*, *zarī*-gold embroidered; 1 red *dhotī* silk floral.	
	Gopījī	2 *dhotī* red; 2 silk *dupaṭṭā*, yellow	
	R.K.	2 *dhotī* silk floral *dhotī* of light green (like *āmalā*) colour; 2 red silk *dupaṭṭā*	
	L.D.	1 silk floral *dhotī*, pink.	

The Festival Manual

The documents, produced later (Chapter 4–IV), refer to various fairs and ceremonials and the share of Charpaṭ on each occasion. This also reflects the way in which the state integrated all the major shrines of the Chambā town within the larger festive complex. That the state promoted and participated in all these fairs is evident from the *dharmārth* or 'religious endowment' register, conspicuously maintained by the managers of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa shrine. After Indian Independence, the district administration took over this function and promoted such events. These events were used ostentatiously for the distribution of

[48] The colour of the popular fruit berry, *Phyllanthus emblica*.

honour and material, and individuals as well as the institutions vied for these honours. Appendix I and II deals with such feasts, which were also provided on the commemoration festivity or *Śrī-Kārā* of Charpaṭ (Document I.9, Chapter 4–I). This section is based on the Register [*Register Ā-13: Utsava va Tyohāra Manāṇe kā Register (Register for celebrating the festivals and ceremonies), 1997*] maintained by the managers of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa shrine, which not only played a prominent part but also represented the state in all the celebrations. These are calendric festivals, depending upon the phase of Moon, most of them celebrated in the entire north India, though there are minor variations in terms of ritual and significance (Documents IV.6, Chapter 4–IV).

These festivals were celebrated by the people of Chambā in their homes as well as by the shrines. The festivities started with the summer harvest celebration, popular in the Panjāb and western Himachal hills—like Chambā, Kāngrā, Manḍī, Bilāspur—on the first full Moon of the New Year, hence called Baisākhī or *Basoā*. Pitchers of clay (*ghaḍā*) filled with water were placed on some grain, strewn on the flour along with suitable fruits of the season. After the *pūjā*-worship by the priest, these were given, in the name of *pitr*-ancestors to the Brāhmaṇas or to the sister's children.[49] Within the larger family dynamics, the married sister (one who leaves the natal home; who is a guest in her ancestral/natal home) was seen as a senior relation and her sons were venerated just as the Brāhmaṇas. In all the rites involving ancestors, the proceeds were given to the nephews/grandsons by the sister/daughter; or, to the officiating priest. The winter harvest festivals were similarly celebrated, like Lohrī.

This festival was held on the last two days of the lunar month of *Pauṣa*, the first day devoted to a night long singing and vigil, called *Jāgarā* (literally, remaining awake), followed by Lohrī. The Reverend Dr John Hutchison, in 1904, observed that the boys and men in each of the 12 *mohallās* or quarters, into which the township of Chambā was divided, lit a bonfire. The bonfire in the quarter near the royal palace was known as the 'Lohrī of the Rājā'. The bonfire was first lit on the day of *Jāgarā*. On the next night of Lohrī, after performing 'certain rites'—where *tila*-sesame, rice and guṛ-jaggery were offered to the bonfire—a *maśāla* or torch of wood would be lit at the Rājā's bonfire and carried

[49] *Gazetteer of the Chamba District 1904* (GCD 1904), pp. 212–13; P. C. Roy Chaudhry, *Temples and Legends of Himachal Pradesh*, p. 87.

around to other *mohallās*. In fact, these *mohallās* were given five *maṇa* of *maśāla* by the Rājā (about 200 kgs of fire-wood), and later by the district administration through the 'Temple committee'.[50] From each bonfire, a new torch would be lit to join the procession of fire-torches and the musicians beating *nakārā*-drums. The *nakārās* were played by the members of the 'Ād-Dharma', who were financed by the Rājā before the festival to mend and re-hide the leather of their percussion instruments.[51] Having made the circumambulatory circuit of the township, the procession gathered at Caughān-ground, where three bonfires were lit. The *maśālas* would be thrust into these fires, and the remnants carried to the respective quarters (for financial details of the Lohrī celebration of 1950 in Appendix II, Table II.5). In the following morning, as in the entire month of *Pauṣa*, the peasant maidens would sing and beg grains:

> O the royal ones (*rājaḍyo*)
> We have come to the royal household (*rājadarbāre*).
> Our feet are cold,
> How did we walk all the way?
> We endured! It is the celebration of Lohrī…
> May your house be full of grains
> May your wife (*bhābo*) bear you son…

During the day time, the family ate *Khicaḍī* or the gruel of rice and *dāla*-māśa (black gram, *Phaseolus radiatus*) only, which was also distributed to the married-sisters and Brāhmaṇas.[52]

If Lohrī was used to integrate all classes, particularly the peasants, Holī was rather a carnivalesque—where integration was marked by the physical breaking of operative hierarchy. This festival was popularly celebrated on the day of full Moon of the month of *Phālaguṇa* or *Caitra*. Hutchison observed that it was not celebrated as such in Chambā, having been replaced by a similar festivity called Horī, held in the month of *Vaiśākha*. The discontinuance of Holī was due to the death in the royal family on the day of festivity. One is reminded of the ways of mourning rituals. In the hills the family in mourning does not celebrate any festivity for a year in the honour of the dear departed.

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[50] Manager, Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Complex, *Register 27 (A)* formerly *Ā (Sa)*, II.

[51] Manager, Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Complex, *Register 27 (A)* formerly *Ā (Sa)*, II.

[52] GCD 1904, pp. 217–18; also, P. C. Roy Chaudhary. *Temples and Legends of Himachal Pradesh*, p. 87.

Holi, however, was celebrated in two phases. First, the play of colour, which began in the royal palace, then moved to the public gardens and finally was celebrated in the Caughān-ground. As Hutchison observed, "A pile of coloured flour having been prepared, small bags were filled with it, and each player had a supply with which he pelted his neighbours." Also, during the day, two large piles of wood were made near the palace, for the bonfires in the evening. Second, is the worship of Horī/Holī in the evening, bidding farewell to the evil forces of winter, when some rituals were performed by the Brāhmaṇas before lighting the bonfire. People offered corns and cereals to the fire while circumambulating around it. People also offered *pūjā* to their hearths and fire in their homes on this evening.[53] However, within the closed walls of the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, the following objects were offered to the deity on this occasion: *Būṅdī* 5 kg; cloth (*Malamala*-muslin) 10 meters; coconut, one; *gulāla* or dry red colour, 5 pkts; *bheṅṭa* 5 pkts.

Basanta Pañcamī, celebrated on the fifth day of the light half of Moon in the month of *Māgha*, marked the beginning of spring. It was customary to wear something yellow on this occasion; the Rājā and his court wearing yellow *pagrī* or head-gear. People offered flowers and sweets in the temples, which were also distributed to friends and relatives.[54] Wearing yellow to herald spring also had subtle religious undertones. The colour of Vaiṣṇavism (Kṛṣṇa is *pītambara*) was worn to assert the dominant religious ethos.

Most of the celebrations in Chambā were also about food. The rainy season festivals were celebrated with seasonal fried food. These were similar to celebrations involving the offering of the first-grain of the harvest to the gods. For example, the new month of the rainy season was marked as *Patroḍā kī Saṃkrāṅtī*. People prepared *patroḍā* (stuffed fried roll of Colocassia leaves) of the leaves of *Kacāloo*-Colocassia plant "on which are spread flour, salt, condiments, etc. and the whole is cooked in *ghee* or oil." These were offered to the Brāhmaṇas along with a fixed amount of grain and money.[55] Similarly, Sair was the major autumn harvest festival, celebrated in the month of *Asūj*. New harvest was 'worshipped' popularly with the *Kiṃba* or grape-fruit. *Sañj* or sweet bread made of wheat flour, fried in *ghee*, was prepared for making an

[53] GCD 1904, pp. 213, 219.
[54] CDG 1904, p. 218.
[55] CDG 1904, p. 215.

offering to the clan icons, or other deities, along with new grains.[56] This period, in Charpaṭ documents, is noted for the 'first-offerings' (offering new harvest) made to the shrine; a time when the "granaries over-flow." Also, on the occasion of Makara Saṃkrāṅtī, the first day of the lunar month of *Māgha*, people celebrated by eating gruel of rice and pulses or *khicaḍī*.[57] The temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa distributed the following raw-material to various shrines, such as Charpaṭnāth, and all its functionaries; and to prepare the *khicaḍī* or rice and pulses-gruel to be offered as *bhoga* (offering of consecrated food) to the deity:

> *Ghee* 10 kg (for *dharmārth* or donation); cloth 2 meters; wheat flour 1 kg 500 gms; *ghee* 400 gms; *guṛ*-jaggery 150 gms; rice (*Bāsmatī*) 4 kg; for preparing *Khicaḍī* (rice and pulse gruel): Red rice 6 kg; *māśa dāla* 1 kg 500 gms; *ghee* or clarified butter, 1 Kg; *mevā* or raisins 250 gms; brown sugar 3 kg.

From the perspective of the state and the shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, the Vaiṣṇava calendric festivals were far more significant. The most important of all was the Janamāṣṭamī, revisiting the story of the birth of Kṛṣṇa, falling on the eighth day of the dark half of the moon, during the rainy month of *Bhādon*. People ate only fruits and cereals, showing respect for the Vaiṣṇava vegetarian norms. Special *pūjā* was conducted on this occasion at the shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.[58] The ritual in all the Chambā temples within the complex—Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, Lakṣmī-Dāmodar and Baṃśī-Gopāla followed the "*Śoḍaśī Upanārīmī Paddhatī*." Next day, the *bhoga* of *būṅdī* was offered, followed by *Khirpū Khīra* the next day. The following objects were used for ritual purposes at the portal of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa:

> Rice *bāsmatī* 200gms; sesame seeds 50 gms; sugar 100 gms; honey 100 gms; *pañja pallava* 4; jāvaitrī or mace 50 gms; kankola 30 gms; *jayaphala*-nutmeg 4; *karpoor*-camphor 50 gms; raw-coconut 4; coconut fruit 1; red silk thread 50 gms; cardamom 30 gms; *longa*-cloves 50 gms; *miṭhā-dhūpa* 100 gms; *lākha* (lac resin) 30 gms; incense sticks 4 packets; handkerchief 4; pistachio nuts 400 gms; *dākha mevā* or raisins 400 gms; saffron 1 gm; *pañca-ratna* 4; any golden hued fruits 2.

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[56] CDG 1904, pp. 215–16.
[57] CDG 1904, p. 218.
[58] CDG 1904, p. 215.

Khirpū Bhoga: Milk for *Khirpū* 20 litres (12 for Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and the rest for Baṃśī-Gopāla temple); rice *bāsmatī* 2 kg; *dākh* 200 gms; coconut 1; saffron 1 gm; rose petals 1 gm; sugar 4 kg.

Bhoga of Soṅṭha[59] pañjīrī for the night (dry-ginger with five types of nuts/raisins): Brown sugar 1 kg; *ghee* 500 gms; *Soṅṭha* or dry-ginger powder 250 gms; fenugreek seeds 100 gms; coriander seeds 50 gms; cumin seeds 50 gms; jaggery 500 gms; almonds 200 gms; *chuhāre* or dry-dates 250 gms;

On the morning following the birth, the deity is offered fruits on awakening. For the festival on that day, 5 kg of *būṅdī* is required and the milk is given daily to the temples of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa complex.

Clothes were also offered on this occasion to the deity:

Cloth used for bathing (*snāna-patte*) 2 each for all four temples. A towel each of 3 meters. Cloth, 2 each for all temples, for wiping feet (*Caraṇa-mukh ke rumāla*) of 3 mts each. Similarly 4 sets of 'cloth' for pillow covers, each of 3 mts, for all the deities; 2 bed sheets of 3 mts each and handkerchief ranging from 1.5 to 2.5 mts each; 4 *dhotīs* for the Garuḍa; *añga vastram* or upper garment: 24;[60] *añgochā* or loin-cloth 2; coloured cloth 10 mts.

On this occasion the following amount of *Rokā* (cash) was donated, by various Chambā shrines:

Rs.20 Śrī Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa; Rs. 5 each by Śrī Rādhā Kṛṣṇa, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Dāmodara and Baṃśī-Gopāla; Rs. 3 each by Śrī Candragupta, Tryaṃbakeśvara, Hanūmāna, Mahākālī, Charpaṭnāth, Harī Rai, etc.
Total amount being Rs. 62.

Festivities were also the 'sites' where subtle statements were made. For instance, Anantha Caudaśa, celebrated on the 14th day of the dark half of the moon in the month of *Bhādrapāda*, introduced unobtrusively a Vaiṣṇava signifier, the yellow armband on the right arm, while people paid homage to the ancestors. Every night, for the fourteen dark nights of this month, a number of earthen *dīpa* or lamps—the number varying between five and seven—were lit for a short time in the name of *pitr* or ancestors.[61] In certain regions, these lamps were offered to the river,

[59] Powdered dried ginger (*Zingiber officinale*).
[60] Traditionally a long scarf that covers the upper body normally hung on the shoulder or draped around the neck.
[61] CDG 1904, p. 215.

placed as they were on the dry leaves (*ḍaḍḍā* or the dry sheath covering the bamboo stem) of bamboo so that they remain afloat; analogous to Vasudeva carrying infant Kṛṣṇa in a basket while crossing the flooded Yamuna to see him safe in the Braj area.

Even though Chambā turned to the worship of Rāma in a big way after the fifteenth century, Dīpāvalī (the festival of lights, which today is the most celebrated of the 'Hindu' festivals in India) was not so big in terms of its celebration. This festival was held two days before the new Moon of the month of *Kārtika*. On this night, Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth, was worshipped. The feet of the goddess were drawn into peoples' houses, and homes and shops were lit with earthen lamps or *dīpakas*. People gambled particularly on this occasion, both in public and private, as the Rājā relaxed the law against gambling for this festival.[62]

On this occasion, the following objects were offered to Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, to light its portal as well as to prepare the *bhoga* offered to the deity.

> Wheat flour 1 kg and 500gms; *ghee* 400 gms; *guṛ*-jaggery 150 gms; sweets 1 kg; earthen dīvā-lamps 100; cotton for wick 100 gms; mustard oil for lamps 500 gms

If Dīpāvalī was not big, Rāma-Navamī, commemorating the birth of Rāma, had tantric undertones to it. The first nine days (each day analogous to each gestation month before birth?) were considered auspicious during the light half of the Month of *Asūja* when *yajña*-ritual-sacrifice were offered, culminating in the *pūraṇāhūtī* (the final oblation to fire) on the last day. These days were considered lucky and people tried to undertake all new projects during these days. On the last day, the "young unmarried girls (pre-puberty) were given sweetmeats and worshipped."[63]

Most significant in the Chambā festival cycle were the local celebrations, the Jātrās-pilgrimage processions and the Miñjara—that commemorated the foundation of the township.

[62] CDG 1904, p. 217.
[63] GCD 1904, p. 216.

The New Year began with the Jātrā—fair-processions—for 21 days, beginning from the first of *Vaiśākha*, in the area surrounding the temple of Caṃpāvatī or Camāsaṇī, the family deity of the Rājās of Chambā. One day was added for every heir apparent born to the Rājā after his accession, provided the child lived till the next Jātrā-*melā* or fair. On each Jātrā day, it was customary for the Rājā or his wazīr-Prime Minister to visit, in a fixed order, certain temples in the town of Chambā—including the portal of Charpaṭnāth—starting from and terminating at the shrine of Caṃpāvatī, the deity of the royal family. Thereafter, wrestling-matches (the spectacle offered to public) took place daily on the Caughān-ground in the presence of the Court. On the last day, a 'durbar' was held, at which prizes were distributed.

The Jātrās ended with an interesting ceremony, called 'Billī Jātrā',[64] as noted by Hutchison in 1904. An old man appeared in:[65]

> soiled garments, with a cage on his head containing a cat, a bow and arrow in one hand, and a piece of paper in other. Coming forward in a manner fitted to excite mirth of the onlookers; he hands the paper to the Rājā or his deputy, and putting down the cage lets out the cat. As it runs away he pretends to shoot an arrow after it, and this is the signal for the melā being at an end.

On the occasion of 'Billī Jātrā (as in 1950), the man carrying the caged cat received a Rupee as a ceremonial fee, and another Rupee and two *Ānnās* on releasing the cat.[66]

During the Jātrā-fair, the goddesses or Devīs of Devī-Koṭhi in the parganā of Bairā and Luṅḍī in the parganā of Ḍhundhī were brought to Chambā on a visit to the shrine of Cauṅḍī and Caṃpāvatī—who are believed to be related to each other as sisters.[67] These deities depart

[64] Manager, Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Complex, *Register 27 (A)* formerly *Ā (Sa)*, IV.

[65] GCD 1904, p. 213.

[66] Manager, Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Complex, *Register 27 (A)* formerly *Ā (Sa)*, IV.

[67] There are various folk traditions arrogating the universal or the sanskritic and fusing it with the local tradition, thereby creating a distinct category of goddess lore. According to one such local nomenclature of the *Durgā-sapta-śatī* (the seven hundred names of the goddess), for instance, the goddesses have been locally reduced to seven, the *mātṛkās* or mothers, located in the sibling ties, as seven sisters. They are Lakṣaṇā, Śiva-Śakti, Bharārī, Riārī, Paroḷiwālī, Bhavānī, and Jālapā (*Village Survey of Chhatrari*, Census of India, 1961, XX, Part VI, No. 6, p. 20). Clearly, the classification of goddesses includes both sanskritic and the local goddesses (Mahesh Sharma, *The Realm of Faith*, Chapter II). Similarly, in this case the goddesses of Devī-Koṭhī, of Luṅḍī, Cāmuṅḍā and Caṃpāvatī of Chambā, are all made a part of the same tradition by deft

only after the end of Jātrās, i.e. after 21st of *Vaiśākha*.[68] (see Chapter 2, last section, about the details of ritual, exchange, involved with this Jātrā).

If this Jātrā was centred on the temple of Champāvatī, the tutelary deity of Chambā, the Rath-Rathaṇī-Jātrā, held during the new Moon of the month of *Asūja*, was about the dominance of the Vaiṣṇava ethos in Chambā. As observed by Hutchison in 1904, a wooden square *Rath* (literally, a chariot, here a seat) with a cloth tapestry was prepared at the Harī-Rai temple. The *Rathaṇī* (literally, a female chariot) was prepared in the precincts of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple, "a woman made up of clothes." On the occasion of Jātrā, literally a visitation, the people,[69]

> ...throw their *rākhars* or silk armlets (worn during the festival of Rakhar Puṇiyā on the new Moon of *Bhādon*) at the *Rath*, and it is then carried to the Caughān, and is met by the *Rathaṇī*, which is brought from the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple. The two figures are made to touch each other, and the bearers then rush apart. The *Rathaṇī* is taken to the Caṃpāvatī temple and the *Rath* is carried through the town, brought back to the Caughān, and torn into pieces.

In 1995, as per the records of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple, the following expenditure was incurred in the making of a *Rathaṇī*.

Rathaṇī made by Deśa Rāj son of Moti Rāma	Rs. 40.00
Four helpers	Rs. 100.00
Flags	Rs. 20.00
Sewing the triple garment @ 20 per piece	Rs. 60.00
Carriage	Rs. 20

On this occasion the following material was used for preparing the consecrated food, *bhoga*, offered to the temple of Candragupta in the evening.

> Wheat flour 500 gms; *ghee* 200 gms; *guṛ*-jaggery 200 gms; *besan*-cornflour 100 gms; and bananas, five; apple, three.

arrogation of mythology, folklore and iconography; resulting in the appropriation of the spatio-temporal symbols, those of royalty and sacred. Hence all the goddesses are kin. Therefore, what could be interpreted as a journey intended to pay tribute to the 'royal deity', Caṃpāvatī, becomes a visit to a sister, on an equal footing. Such subtle manoeuvrings stabilized and homogenized the dynamic and hierarchy in the tradition in popular mentality.

68 GCD 1904, p. 213; also, J. Ph. Vogel and J. Hutchison, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, I, p. 285; P. C. Roy Chaudhry, *Temples and Legends of Himachal Pradesh*, p. 62.

69 GCD 1904, p. 216.

The sequence of events is interesting. Of the two chariots, the chariot of Harī-Rai, which is given the feminine valence, goes to the goddess. Technically both are the Vaikunṭhas, recognised by their touching each other. The Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa prevails, asserting its dominance, much like the paradigmatic ruler that it was in the post-15th century Chambā. But the *bhoga* is offered to the Candragupta temple, not Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, as is a usual practice, perhaps recognising its prominent status prior to the coming of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.

The Jātrā-procession to the sacred lake-*ḍaḷa* of Maṇimaheśa, one of the appellations of Śiva unique to Chambā, slowly became the dominant state wide pilgrimage process. Much like the Vaiṣṇava calendar, this Jātrā-procession also began on the new moon of *Bhādon* or *Asūj* and terminated on the eighth day of the light half of moon. Now the district administration has taken over the organisation of the fair festival, which is celebrated as a state fair, with about 100,000 people participating (For details, see Chapter II).

Three days after the sacred bath at the lake-*daḷā* of Maṇimaheśa, from where the water of *ḍaḷa*-lake was brought and offered to the goddess Śiva-Śakti, the Jātrā of Chatrārī began.[70] The shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, like any other shrine or people, made an offering to Śiva-Śakti, the goddess of Chatrārī. In 1995, the following, termed as customary, was offered to the Chatrārī Jātrā held in the month of Bhādon (see Appendix I):

> Red sandal-wood paste 200 gms; *miṭṭhā dhūpa* 100 gms; white sandal-wood paste 50 gms; processed incense 1 kg; cotton 200 gms; cloth for upper garment 1 meter; *ghagarī* or long-skirt one (sewed); *dupaṭṭā*-stole, one; cloth for rath-seat of the icon, one meter.

The following ornaments, in the custody of the priest/manager of the shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa were also given to the goddess on this Jātrā-fair, with an understanding that they would be returned after the end of the Jātrā.

> 1. Gold bangles-*cūḍā*, one pair; 2. Gold *māṇa-ṭikkā* (head ornament), one; 3. Gold nose rings, one pair; 4. Gold *nathanī*-nose ring, one; 5. Gold beaded chain, three.

[70] CDG 1904, p. 215.

The way these Jātrās were visualised, they reflect the growing tantric or Śākta influence in Chambā. In the Rath-Rathnī festivity, if the two Vaikunṭhas were given male and female valences, where Harī-Rai was clearly associated with Campāvatī, in the Chatrārī Jātrā, Śiva-Śakti association was clearly emphasised (not only the taxonomy) in the symbolic ritual of union: offering the water from Maṇimaheśa to the goddess is the symbolic beginning of the pilgrimage.

Finally, the fair of Miñjara, which is typical to the Chambā town only, was held on the third Sunday of the lunar month of *Śrāvaṇa*. The essential part of the *melā*-fair consisted in the throwing into the Rāvī (earlier Irāvatī) river of a male buffalo as a sacrifice to the river god, Varuṇa. Perhaps, the fair commemorates the founding of the township of Chambā, on the banks of river Irāvatī, to whom an offering of buffalo was made, to secure its protection against flood, and for rains and harvest.[71] Incidentally, the tutelary deity of this township, Caṃpāvatī—allegedly the daughter of the founding king, Sāhilla Varman—is also represented as Mahiṣāsuramardinī, or the slayer of the buffalo headed demon.

A week before the time of Miñjara sacrifice, every Chambā inhabitant got "a silk tassel made, which is attached to some part of the dress and worn. This was called a Miñjara." As noted by Hutchison, the Rājā and his court proceeded to the spot on the appointed day, and propitiated the river by offering grain, a coconut, a Rupee (customary *Rokā*, or cash offering), *drub* grass and some flowers. Thereupon, a live buffalo was pushed into 'the flood', a practice since discontinued. The Rājā then offered his Miñjara to the river, followed by the inhabitants of the town.

The fate of the struggling animal presaged the future of the people of Chambā. If the animal was carried away and drowned in the river, the occurrence was regarded as propitious. This was considered as a sign that the sacrifice had been accepted by the gods. Such an acceptance insured rains and bountiful harvest in the ensuing year! If the animal swam across the river or was saved (by someone unaware far down the course of river), it was considered ominous, portending evil

[71] "The Chambā Vamsavali," 1612 (?), *Antiquities*, I, vs. 68–72, pp. 86, 93.

times to come.[72] Sure enough, the townsmen did not allow the buffalo to battle triumphantly the turbulent current of Rāvī river; perhaps enjoying the spectacle of its struggle to save its life, praying fervently for its death; a cruel way of revisiting the mythology of the goddess, Mahiṣāsuramardinī: the slayer of demon disguised as a buffalo.

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[72] GCD 1904, pp. 214–15; also, P. C. Roy Chaudhry. *Temples and Legends of Himachal Pradesh*, p. 59.



Figure 4.1 Copper plate grant hanging on the wall of the portal of Charpaṭ

CHAPTER FOUR

DOCUMENTS

4.I
Land Grants

In 1754, an "opulent hill type shrine"[1] was built at Devī-Koṭhi to house the goddess Cāmuṇḍā, famous as Virāvalī, in a territory that was long contested by the rulers of Kashmir. The temple is a rectangular wooden building, embellished with wood-carvings and murals. Though the exploits of the goddess are central to the visual-narrative, the iconographic programme is, nevertheless, plural and diverse. There are Vaiṣṇava themes as well. The most interesting, however, is the depiction of the Siddhas and Jogīs—those haṭha-yogic practitioners—in various postures and moods. The most interesting frame is that of a naked Jogī, holding a 'bowl' and 'pestle', as if preparing a hallucinogenic concoction. There are other Jogīs as well: seated in meditative postures; chanting rosaries; and a young one sitting in an *āsana*-posture where his "right knee is raised, and the left is pressing down against the earth. He holds a bowl to his lips, as if drinking from it."[2] That this frame (and dozen more) comes from this shrine is not at all surprising. It is, in fact, indicative of a close relationship between the goddess and the alchemical practitioners, like Charpaṭnāth. Moreover, there are other frames pointing towards the popular tantric practices, like the one of a Ḍākinī (who is called the "fiendish flesh-eating" follower of Durgā; and an "Enchantress" in another tantric context)[3] who is seated on the

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[1] Eberhard Fischer, V. C. Ohri and Vijay Sharma, *The Temple of Devi-Kothi: Wall Paintings and Wooden Reliefs in a Himalayan Shrine of the Great Goddess in the Churah Region of the Chamba District, Himachal Pradesh, INDIA*, Zurich, Artibus Asiae Supplement, 43, 2003.

[2] Ibid. p. 50, no. X. The authors think that this is for grinding *bhang* (cannabis), and the other Jogī is drinking the concoction. This is generally how the ascetics, particularly the Śaivites behave. But, given the context, this seems more of an alchemical practitioner.

[3] David Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors*, Boston, 1987, 2002 (reprint), pp. 153, 158.

funeral pyre; another, drinking from the bowl while raising a scimitar in her right hand.[4] The association of birds, such as storks, peacocks or vultures, with the Jogīs, are pointers to the tantric antecedents of these murals.

All this does not come as a surprise as this region culturally inherited the Kaula rituals, which are widely practiced today as well, albeit in an altered form. In fact, at the time when the temple was built, the Jammu rulers disputed this region as their 'cultural constituency' and the first document in this collection also upholds that the dominant religious practice of this area was the *Kaula-pañca-dharma*. The Jogīs were the popular practitioners in these rural regions and, predictably, they were patronised by the state of Chambā. The relationship between the Jogīs of Charpaṭ and the state is reflected in the iconographic programme of this shrine. What is significant in this is the broad synchronicity of four seemingly unrelated events. The first is the compiling of the royal genealogy around the 1640s, which accorded centrality to Charpaṭnāth. Secondly, building the temple at Devī-Koṭhi around 1754, where the Jogīs and tantric themes found prominence. The third is the signing of a treaty between Jammu and Chambā in 1781 whereby the former sought cultural rights to uphold the popular-religion, namely the *Kaula-pañca-dharma*. Finally, the first known grant that was made to the Jogīs of Charpaṭ around 1784. Are these events suggestive of a close relationship that was developing between the Jogīs and the state, wherein the state realised the popularity that these Jogīs enjoyed in the periphery and, therefore, fostered a mutually useful relationship?

The relationship between the ideological sector and the state was symbiotic—the state sustained it and in turn sought the instruments of legitimation. Charpaṭnāth was the instrument through which the royal genealogy of Chambā sought to build the consent-to-rule when it lost its independence to the expanding Mughal Empire and its territorial identity was threatened by other local chieftains in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The land grants subsequently made to the Jogīs of Charpaṭnāth affirm this symbiotic relationship. This was not an asymmetrical relationship. The ascetics or ideologues were aware of their power and threatened the rulers; as they in turn were controlled by the king who raised alternative sectarian institutions and manipulated and exploited their economic dependence over the state.

[4] Eberhard Fischer, V. C. Ohri and Vijay Sharma, *The Temple of Devi-Kothi*, pp. 72, 73.

He might be the king,
But we are who have perfected Knowledge.
He might exercise power,
But we are who can regulate Will.
When we walk across the globe (world)
Kings stop by, trembling in fear!
(Pahārī Siddha dictum)

The significant role that 'religion' played in the process of state formation is clear from the first document itself. The contending states confront each other to patronise the local 'practices', even when the sovereign rights rest with the other.

Document No. I.1
Treaty between Brij Rāj Dev of Jammu and Rāj Singh of Chambā, 1781 CE

Transcription[5]

Likhyā se parmāṇa

Śrī Rāmajī

Likhtama Śrī Rājā Brij Rāj De Śrī Rāje Rāj Singhe ki Jūnḍa Bhallaī Diūr Bhāndhal Kihār bakśayā tiddhī dā Kaula-Pañca-Dharma likhī dityā Śrī Rāje Brij Rāje de vaṃśe ahī dharma pālaṇā Śrī Rāje Rāj Singhe de vaṃśe ahī pargāne khāṇe Śrī Rāje Brij Rāj De de vaṃśe dī khidamatī[6] *vic Śrī Rāje Rāj Singhe de vaṃśe de rajuh rehaṇā ahī dharma daū bakh rakhaṇā Chambe uppar gaur karde rehaṇā darmyān Śrī Lachamī Nāth Sammat 57 Bhādroṅ parviṣṭhe 15 Likhyā dharmā vic tafauat nahī karaṇī// Śubha.*

[5] This is the only document presented in the present compilation that is not from the collection of the priest Baijnāth, the Jogī of the shrine of Charpaṭnāth. This document bearing an accession number C-25, is housed in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chambā. It is written in Ṭākarī script, as all other documents in this collection are, except one. See J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chambā*, Calcutta, 1909, p. 70.

[6] B. Ch. Chhabra contends that the words of Persian origin started filtering into the Chambiyāḷī (Pahārī) languages, in Ṭākarī script, around 1440s, where *jāma* is used for *zamīn* or land, *khijmat* (*Khidmat*) or rendering service, *cākar, hāzar* (*hāzir*) for service, tribute and presence, are noteworthy. The first such obvious usage in the official record is seen in the dubious, "Bhota Varman's Grant of VS 1507," *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 4, pp. 28–30.

Translation

The written is affirmed

In the name of holy Rāma

Affirmed by Śrī Rājā Brij Rāj Dev (to) Śrī Rājā Rāj Singh that (the parganās or provinces?) of Jūṇḍa, Bhallaī, Diūr, Bhāndhal, and Kihār have been ceded. The *Kaula-Pañca-Dharma* of these places has been (written) confirmed. We have arrived at an arrangement that the dynasty of Śrī Rājā Brij Rāj Dev will nurture (look after?) this religion. The dynasty of Śrī Rājā Rāj Singh will collect revenue from these parganās. What ever be the lapses (blunders, or personal enmity?) in the personal service of the dynasty of Śrī Rājā Rāj Singh by the dynasty of Śrī Rājā Brij Rāj, they will keep this religion aside. Look after Chambā.[7] Agreed upon in the name of Lakṣmī Nāth,[8] on *Samvat* 57, *Bhādoṅ praviṣṭhe* (date according to the lunar calendar) 15 (1781 CE). It is settled that none will foment trouble (in what has already been agreed upon). Let this be auspicious.

Document No. I.2
Grant to Gulāb Nāth by Rājā Rāj Singh, 1784 CE

This is a copy of the copper plate deed made to the Jogī family and written in Ṭākarī, which was attached to the portal of Charpaṭnāth in Chambā around this time. The copy also serves, at the same time, as a renewal or transfer grant from the name of Charpaṭ to that of Jogī Gulāb Nāth by Rājā Rāj Singh in 1784 CE, who was then appointed as its priest. It, therefore, goes on to explain the nature of provisions in detail. The state undertook to provide the *jāmā*, or revenue collected, as was done earlier to the portal of Charpaṭ, which is not specified. It also contracted to provide utensils (for ritual purposes?) and a tributary share, which is not specified (and was probably symbolic in nature), of the new harvest, as was customary. Moreover, it promised, or sought

[7] Brij Rāj was to marry the Chamba princess and was killed in the battle against the Sikh Bhangi *misl*. His wife immolated herself or became a *Satī*, *Gulābnāmā of Diwān Kirpā Rāma (A history of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu and Kashmir)*, compiled in Persian 1865, (pub. 1876), S. S. Charak, tr. Delhi, 1977, p. 47.

[8] Rāj Singh made other deities the witness as well, indicating their influence and worship in Chambā. For instance, the "Treaty between Rāj Singh and Sansar Chand of Kāngrā," written and signed in 1788, is witnessed by Śrī Lakṣmī Nāth, Maṇimaheśa, Śrī Devī Caṇḍī and Caṃpāvatī. *Antiquities*, II, pp. 164–66.

the Jogīs to continue the worship of Mahākālī,[9] who was associated to this portal, perhaps located near it; or, continue 'making' of the image of the goddess, as was a practice of earlier years. Perhaps the goddess was made and installed every year. They had to pay a cess, *maṅge-dī-muāfī*, in kind or cash, as was provisioned in the earlier charter. They were promised a share, in the measurement of *path* (see, Chapter 3), as the first offerings at each harvest. One may presume that such provisioning and arrangement was same for other temples as well, like that of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.

Transcription
Arabic script and Chambiyāḷī dialect[10]

Mahārājā Śrī Rāj Singh

Śrī Rāmajī

Sahī

Oṃ. Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Rāj Singh brahṃ bacana wazīre Arjane hathe ākhyā je paryāḷī ik Chambe wale thāṇṇe Charbaṭe daī jaghai (?) ik Jogī Gulāb Nāthe ki Sammat 60 mukṇe (muke) Tisse taīn [hī] jiyān kuch piche laī Charbaṭe da śhariśtā qadīm paī hai se nayā dā nayā jāmā Gulāb Nāthe dā kitā Jiyān kuch bhanḍe thāṇṇe nibhande āye hor kaṭāyī dinde āye hor thāṇṇe hathe Mahākālī jī po-āji(pūjā?) ke baṇande āye se baṇaṇe karṇe Jiyān kich maṅge dī mafī laiṅde āye tiyāṅ age bhī liyā karṇi Jogī dā nayāṅ jiyāṅ kuch karde āye Pathe māpak noyāṅ age bhī thāṇṇe kare karṇī Kadīmī wāle na[śri]śte vic harjā koī nā kare Sammat 59 Cait parviṣṭhe 23 paṭṭā [usse] gate Mahādebō Śiva(?) Śambhu Śri Mahārāje jī de baṃśe dā hoyā tis dharmarpaṇaya Gulāb Nāthe de vaṃśe dā hoyā tis khāṇā bhogṇā.

[9] The early state at Brahmapurā patronised and built the shrines dedicated to the goddess, Lakṣaṇā and Śiva-Śakti. The genealogy of the rulers of Chambā name the deity as Bhadrakālī and the shrine was allegedly built at the instance of the Kashmiri gurū of the Rājā of Chambā. Vogal, *Antiquities*, I, p. 92.

[10] This is the only document that is written in Arabic script, though in the dialect of Chambā. The usage of Urdu was popular in hills and the sizeable population of Muslim Gujjars (the buffalo herders) too must have gone a long way in popularising the language. The close trade and cultural affinity as well as sharing the historical borders with the present state of Jammu and Kashmir too must have been responsible for popularising the knowledge of Urdu.

Translation

Mahārājā Śrī Rāj Singh

In the name of holy Rāma

Attested as true

Oṃ. Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Rāj Singh, the beholder of truth, sends a word through the agency of his Prime Minister (*wazīr*) Arjan that the grant of Charpaṭ, who is in the extreme (other) end (*paryāḷī*) of Chambā, be renewed for *Samvat* 60 (1784 CE) to one Jogī (named) Gulāb Nāth. Like earlier years, what ever is the landed-ownership (*śariśtā? qadīm*) of Charpaṭ, the same revenue (*jāmā*)[11] share is renewed in the name of Gulāb Nāth. We shall continue the practice of earlier years, namely, providing some vessels (*bhanḍe*) to the *thāṇṇā* (shrine) and harvest share (*kaṭāyī*) and providing the share from the worship of Mahākālī at the portal, as was done earlier. They (the Jogīs) shall pay the cess at the end of each harvest (*maṅge-dī-muāfī*)[12] as was the earlier practice.

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[11] Acceptably, the state demand; strictly, the basic land revenue as distinct from the cess, *The First Regular Settlement of Chamba District 1951–58*, a report, 1966, p. 64.

[12] It refers to the tax paid by the landholder to whom the *hastodaka* or tax free grant has been made. This is clear from the grant issued by king Balabhadra in *Śastra Samvat* 75 or the year 1599 CE to a Brāhmaṇa named Raulika. He was to pay the tax in kind, *maṅgṇī ānnā*, to the tune of one *pidā* for each of the two crops in a year, or two *piḍās* of grain in a year. Similarly, in another grant issued by Balabhadra in *śastra* 69 or CE 1593, the donees were to pay seven *piḍās* from one crop once a year as *maṅgaṇī* tax to the state. B. Ch. Chhabra, *Antiquities* II, Insp. No. 40, pp. 99–100; Insp. 34, pp. 89–90. Similarly, *maṅgaṇī* tax of three *pīḍās* of grain from the grant to one Brāhmaṇa Ranaso by king Ganesha Varman in 1541–42 CE, was expected by the state as stated in the copper plate grant, "Dhadhyada Plate of Ganesha Varman, Śastra 17," *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 13, pp. 47–48. Also, a *pīḍā* of grain from each crop, as in the "Sakala Plate of Balabhadra, Śastra 75," *Antiquities*, II, insp. No. 40, pp. 99–100. There were specific taxes as *kara, maṅgaṇī, bāch* and *kunt* to be paid by the donee. The category of exempted taxes, perhaps in the *hastodaka* grants, was the land-rent and revenue payable to the state. But in order to minimise the loss of revenue to the rent-free-grants, the state carved some special and customary taxes from such grants which were to be paid to the religious institutions, individuals, etc, as may be inferred from, "Sei Plate of Balabbhadra, VS 1695," *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 67, pp. 142–43.

In the grant made to Jogī Gulāb Nāth, he was not only given an endowment in land but even a share in the *maṅge-dī-muāfī* tax, as we know it was in kind, from a particular donee. This grant was over and above the share of harvest that he was promised. Thus, the state managed its grants in such a way that the collection of taxes further formed an exclusive grant or a right of another institution, Charpaṭnāth in this case. The resources were hence redistributed even when theoretically the grant made was tax free, as is evident from the case of Raulika Brāhmaṇa.

We only review the grant to the Jogīs, as is the practice. Let him be granted a share in the measurement of *Path*[13] on each harvest, (as the first offerings of the new harvest) as was done earlier too. None should interfere (particularly) in the arrangement of *naśriśtā qadīm*, (hereditary arrangement as has been followed to date?). The *paṭṭā*-deed is issued on 23 *parviṣṭhe* of *Caitra, Samvat* 59 (1783 CE). At this very moment, in the name of the one and only one Śiva-Śambhu, the Mahādeva, it belongs to the religious (god fearing) family of Gulāb Nāth who shall serve the family of the Mahārājā.[14] His family shall enjoy the proceeds from this grant in perpetuity.

Document No. I.3
Monetary Grant to Gulāb Nāth by Rājā Jeet Singh

This document is slightly out of the standard formula used for the renewal grants. It seems that a new grant in cash was invested on the Jogī, though the subsequent documents mention that this is a renewal grant. However, the language in this document is terse, particularly in comparison to the descriptive nature of other documents. It is not legible in parts, which is not very usual for most of the documents presented here. It does not refer to any previous grant, which is not the

[13] One *Path* = 1 *seer* + 8 *Chaṭāka*
1 *Seer* = 16 *Chaṭāka*
1 *Seer* = 930 gms.

[14] The idea of the land grant made to such institutions that exercised a varying but significant public influence was to construct 'consent' and legitimation to the rule. There are many documents where the grantee is repeatedly reminded of his duty to the state and God. Thus, a conscious attempt is made to forge such linkages, perhaps explaining the endowment and all sorts of patronage extended by all dispensations to the religious places and persons. For instance, Akbar made an *ināṃ* grant of 50 *bīghās* land to Jogī Udant Nāth, "so that he may remain occupied with praying for the permanence of the Conquering Dynasty (while) sustaining himself year after year…," *The Mughals and Jogīs of Jakhbar*, document no. I, pp. 51–2. Yet, apart from these grants made for personal consumption of the grantee, they were also expected to be used for the maintenance of the institutions, or for pilgrims, or venerable person visiting such institutions. For instance, when Dasaundhā Singh made a *dharmārth* grant to the Mahant of Piṇḍorī, he expected it to be used perpetually for "feeding the *sadh-sangat* harvest after harvest and he should invoke divine blessings for the augmentation of the fortunes of the person and the family of the Mahārājā." *The Mughals and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori*, Simla, document nos. XLIII, XLVIII, pp. 308, 329. In the hills, Sidh Sen issued such grants to the priests of Baijnāth covertly professing such sentiments, though overtly creating a political space in the territory that he wanted to annex, *The Realm of Faith: Subversion, Appropriation and Dominance in the Western Himalaya*, Appendix II.

usual practice. Nor does it end in the usual way where the Mahārājā undertakes to fulfil the obligation in perpetuity. There is, perhaps, certain tampering with it towards the end, or it has lost its sheen. The date inscribed is not legible therefore. Apparently the Wazīr, as indicated on the margin, ordered the deed. However, we may bear in mind the unusual and brief reign (1794–1808) of Rājā Jīt Singh (referred to as Ajīt Singh in this and other documents as well), which was uncertain because of the legacy of war and coming as it did at the turbulent end of the reign of his father, Rāj Singh, in a war against Kāngrā. Perhaps, the document only invoked his name and the scribes renewed them to mark the change of rule on the orders of Wazīr Arjan.

Transcription

Parmāṇa

Śrī Rāmajī

Oṃ Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Ajīt Singhe brahma bacane wazīre Arjaṇe hathe age ika… nā(th) dha.. 25 (15)… hī mahārāje Śrī… rāje… ika Jogī Gulāb Nāthe ki pun karī bagśayā se Jogī Gulāb Nāth Ajīt… karī dene. Sammat 1. Likhyā Śrī Wazīre (?) // Śubha//.

Translation

Certified

In the name of holy Rāma

Oṃ! Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Ajīt Singh, the beholder of truth, through the hands of his wazīr, Arjan, has [granted]) to one…. Nāth Rs. 25, in words twenty five only. Śrī Mahārājā has to (?) this Jogī Gulāb Nāth has reverently awarded (*pun Kari bagśayā*). This Jogī, Gulāb Nāth, shall [be sustained by?] Ajīt Singh. Written on *Samvat*…. Written by Śrī Wazīr (?). Let this be auspicious.



Figure 4.I.1 Monetary Grant to Gulāb Nāth by Rājā Jeet Singh

Document No. I.4
Monetary Grant to Gulāb Nāth by Rājā Charath Singh, 1827 CE

Transcription

Parmāṇa

Śrī Rāmajī

Oṃ Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Charath Singhe brahma bacane wazīre Nāthu hathe je rupaiye 25/00 ākhare bhī pañjjī rupaiye je ika Jogī Gulāb Nāthe kī Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Rāj Singhe Śrī Ajīt Singhe pun karī Chambe Charpaṭe dī Śrī Kārā uppar barkhā 1ika pratī laī ditte de the tidhī mūjab huṇ bhī Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Charath Singhe pun karī je ika Jogī Gulāb Nāthe de pautre Jwālā Nāthe kī Sammat 3 laget barkhā 1 ika prati pañjjī rupaiye Chambe Charpaṭe de sarkārā uppar leī ditti dī hai iddhī māpak Charpaṭe dī sarkārā de barkhe dī barkhā Jogī Jwālā Nāthe kī deī karne Śrī Mahārāje jī de baṃśa je dharam pālaṇā Jogī Jwālā Nāthe de bhī pālaṇā Reporṭ Dāsa Mehte Kundane// Śubh//.

Translation

Certified

In the name of holy Rāma

Oṃ! Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Charath Singh, the beholder of truth, has granted Rs. 25, in words also Rupees[15] twenty-five, to one Jogī Gulāb Nāth through the hands of his wazīr, Nāthū. Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Rāj Singh earlier provisioned this annual grant to Charpaṭ of Chambā on its *Śrī Kārā* (commemoration/commemorative feast), as also by Śrī Ajīt Singh. Accordingly, Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Charath Singh has renewed the grant to the grandson of Jogī Gulāb Nāth, Jwālā Nāth, in the beginning of *Samvat* 3 (1827 CE). On the first of every year, Rupees twenty-five, 25, shall be granted by the state (*sarkār*) of Chambā to Jogī Jwālā Nāth.[16]

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[15] According to Vogel, "the only coin special to Chambā is the *cāklī*, five of which makes an *ānnā*, and it has been in use in all likelihood from ancient times. On it the king Sāhilla Varman caused to be struck a pierced ear, the symbol of a yogi, in honour of Charpaṭnāth, and this has continued to the present day (1933). The later Rājās added the *Viṣṇū-pād*, or the feet of Viṣṇū, on their coins," Hutchison and Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, I, Lahore, 1933, p. 286. Ajay Mitra Shastri contends that the early Chambā currency was *dramma*, as also in Baijnāth. However, from the mid sixteenth century, the coins of the Mughals were in circulation in Chambā. The recent most *cāklī* were the copper coins issued by Rājā Charhat Singh (1808–44 AD), the rebel Lakar Shah of Baśolī (1844) and Rājā Śrī Singh (1844–70 CE), "Currency System of Chambā," *The Western Himalayan Kingdom*, pp. 81–89. Later on, the currency of the British Indian denomination was in circulation in Chambā, as Rupee, Ānnā and Paisā, which is mentioned in these documents as well.

There are, however, inscriptional reference to the usage of currencies such as *drammas* for Chambā and Kāngrā in the 1200s, as in Baijnāth *praśastī* or the "Luj Fountain Inscription of Jāsaṭa," and *Rupiah*, as a circulating currency in Chambā, for instance in the 1440s grant of Bhaoṭavarman, IHHPPKAHT, insp. nos. 43, 69 & 79, pp. 224–5, 270–1, 307; *Antiquities*, I, p. 205; *ṭakkā*, referred to in a petition by Mādho Jogī made to Rājā Ram Singh in the 1920s, see Document 4.V.1 in this collection.

[16] This provision is slightly different from the grant of Rāj Singh. Perhaps the reference of renewal is to another grant, not in our knowledge, where the annuity was started on the occasion of the annual commemoration event, the *Śrī Kārā*. Does the amount signify the collection only, without any provisions in kind, as was the practice earlier? The subsequent grant of fixed amount of money as renewal, along with a continuing grant of land, or revenue thereof as in this case, was a standard practice in the hills around this time. For instance, Kāngrā painter Gokul was provided with a deed of Rs. 30/annum in VS 1900 or 1843 CE. (Goswamy thinks it to be a monthly grant, as it is not clearly mentioned in the deed, which makes it a very lucrative deed, along with a daily ration of 6/12 *seer*. My assumption is motivated by the fact that the non-mention means that it is an annuity, as any deviation from the standard practice is meticulously written by the scribe). This is in continuation with the first renewal grant by the Sikhs in VS 1882 or 1825 CE made to this artist, *Painters at the Sikh Court: A Study Based on Twenty Documents*, Wiesbaden, 1975, grant no. I & XIV, pp. 83, 115.



Figure 4.I.2 Monetary Grant to Gulāb Nāth by Rājā Charath Singh, 1827 CE

Śrī Mahārājā has taken upon himself that his successors (the household of the Mahārājā) shall patronise (literally nurture, *pālaṇā*) this religion and the grant, in perpetuity, is for the exclusive use of the household (progeny) of Jogī Jwālā Nāth. The report [has been] written by Dāsa Mehtā[17] Kundan.

Let this be auspicious.

Document No. I.5
Grant to Gulāb Nāth by Rājā Śrī Singh to Amar Nāth Jwālā Nāth, 1854 CE

Transcription

Parmāṇa

Śrī Rāmajī

Sahī

Oṃ Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Śrī Singhe brahma bacane wazīre Prabhākare hathe atha je rupaiye 25/00 ākhare bhī pañjjī rupaiye je pūjārī Amar Nāth Jwālā Nāthe kī Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Rāj Singhe Śrī Ajīt Singhe Śrī Charath Singhe pun karī Jogī Gulāb Nāthe ki dittā dā thā tiddhī māphak Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Śrī Singhe pun karī je ika Jogī Amar Nāthe Jwālā Nāthe kī ditte Sammat 30 lagayet barkhā 1 ika pratī pañjjī rupaiye Chambe de Charpaṭe de sarkārā uppar leī ditte tiddhī māphak Charpaṭe dī sarkārā de barkhe di barkhā Amar Nāthe Jwālā Nāthe kī daī karne Śrī Mahārāje jī de baṃśa je dharama pālaṇā Amar Nāthe Jwālā Nāthe de bhogaṇā Sammat 30 Sauṇa parviṣṭhe 19.

[17] These were the revenue officials in parganās who probably functioned as scribes as well. They did not receive direct salary from the state but '*rakam*' or emoluments over revenue demand, a part of which was alienated to the state as *bāch* or cess. The state, however, supplied them with food free of charge. The office of Mehtā was however abolished, perhaps in the reorganisation of the Chambā administration in 1863–64. *The Gazetteer of Chamba District, 1904*, p. 265. Mehtā, like other official titles or functionaries, became a caste name situated in a fixed hierarchy and observing marriage, commensality and touch taboos with the castes relatively lower and upper to them. But it is evident that they continued functioning as scribes, as in this document.

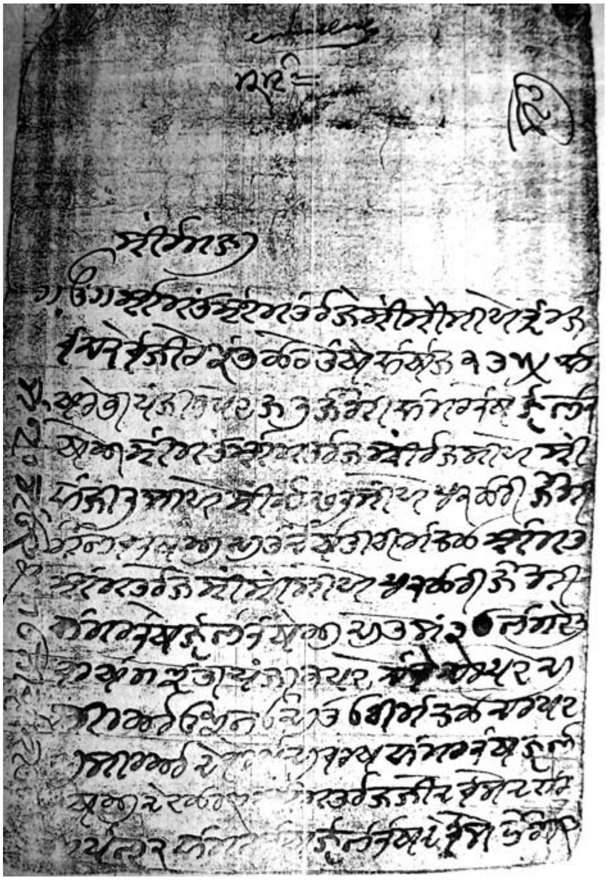


Figure 4.I.3 Monetary Grant to Gulāb Nāth by Rājā Śrī Singh to Amar Nāth Jwālā Nāth, 1854 CE

Translation

Certified

In the name of holy Rāma

Signed as true

Oṃ. Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Śrī Singh, the beholder of truth, has provided Rs. 25, in words also Rupee twenty-five, to the *pūjārī*—priest Amar Nāth Jwālā Nāth through the hands of his wazīr, Prabhākara. Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Rāj Singh, Śrī Ajīt Singh, earlier provided this grant, as also by Śrī Charath Singh to Jogī Gulāb Nāth. The same has been similarly granted (renewed) by Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Singh to Jogī Amar Nāth Jwālā

Nāth with effect from *Samvat* 30. On the first of every year, Rupees twenty-five, 25 shall be granted by the state (*sarkār*) of Chambā to Charpaṭnāth. The household of Śrī Mahārājā shall nurture this religion and this grant, in perpetuity, is for the exclusive use of the household (offspring) of Amar Nāth Jwālā Nāth. Written on the 19 of *Srāvaṇa, Samvat* 30 (1854 CE).

Document No. I.6
Death of a Gosāīn, 1872 CE

This is an interesting document as it seeks information about mortality in the state, in this case a Gosāīn, (from Gosvāmī, the protector of cow; also used for 'mendicants', the one whose 'emotions' are in control) a term largely used for Śaivite (*Daśanāmīs*) ascetics, particularly after the eighteenth century, but generally used for ascetics of all 'denominations' and sects; just as *Ṭhākurdwārā* was ordinarily used for the portal of Rāma, but sometimes used for 'hermitage' of any sectarian affiliation.[18] Like the Jogīs, Gosāīns too were householders, given more to commerce and trade.[19] The ascetic and householder polarity, as also in the case of Jogīs, was seen from two different perspectives. The colonial state, anxious about their influence particularly over the agrarian society, coupled with their 'peregrinations', welcomed and perhaps abetted their 'embracing' the household norms by recognising and uplifting their status by awarding land-grants and providing them a leadership role. This is reflected in the writings of the colonial administrators as well. For instance, Fraser defines Gosāīns as "religious mendicants", who during their "wandering in their religious vocations profess celibacy."

[18] This is a precise usage, though the scribes were sometimes not so cautious and often used Gosāīn as an overarching epithet for all categories of renouncers, even when they were ideologically opposed. This, however, provides an insight into the minds of common people, who could not make these subtle distinctions. M. A. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes, as Represented in Benaras*, London, 1872, pp. 255–57.

[19] We know that the Gosāīns of Jvālāmukhī, in Kāngrā, controlled a successful trade to Delhi in the 18–19th centuries, Mahesh Sharma, "Shaktism in Himachal," *Religious Movements and Institutions in Medieval India*, ed. J. S. Grewal, New Delhi, 2006. Pinch also informs us that prior to 1800, the Gosāīns and Bairāgīs (Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava monks, respectively) "exercised broad political and economic influence as merchants, bankers, and, most importantly, soldiers. Powerful mahants (abbots) speculated in real estate and engaged in extensive money lending activities in order to diversify monastic endowments in urban centres throughout the north, thus facilitating links between the increasingly regional political economies of the late Mughal era." W. R. Pinch, *Peasants and Monks in British India*, Berkeley, 1996, p. 24; D. H. A. Kolff, "Sanyasi Trader-Soldiers," IESHR, 8, 1971, pp. 213–18.

He was, therefore, happy to meet two Gosāīns in the Śimla-hills who, "had *wisely quitted their wandering life and vows of celibacy*, and had *taken wives*, and settled here as tillers of the ground" (emphasis added).[20] This is in stark contrast to the perception of 'Hindu' society, which punished their role-reversal by placing them lower down in the caste hierarchy.

The document, presented here, asks for details about the cremation and associated rituals after the death of an ascetic. It also instructs the officials to file a report about all deaths that take place in the state. The document is also revealing as the state was trying to extend the frontiers of Vaiṣṇavism, pushing it into the Śaivite territories, through the ascetic agency.

Transcription

Śrī Rāmajī

Sahī

Oṃ Pihūre de Kāmdārā kī Wazīre Abtār Singhe Rāma-Rāma samhāḷiyā age Pihūre dī Koṭhī Śrī Ṭhākurdwāre Gosāīn rahandā thā se marī giyā hungā tisadi reporṭ nahīn bhejī tāṅ Gosāīn dī laṭṭī paṭṭī je hoī se tidhī dā kāgad byore bād baṇāī bhejaṇā kane sabhaṇā pargāne (yāṅ) kī hukum bheje koi ādamī marī jāye tāṅ reporṭ bhejaṇī se tussān reporṭ nahīṅ bhejī tidhī dā jabāb Sammat 1929 Sauṇ parviṣṭhe 17.

Translation
In the name of holy Rāma

Attested as true

Oṃ. Wazīr Avtār Singh sends his greetings (Rāma-Rāma) to the Kāmadār of Pihūr. [He questions] further that a Gosāīn[21] use to live at the

[20] J. B. Fraser, *The Himālā Mountains*, London, 1820, Delhi, 1982 (reprint), p. 109.
[21] In the Chambā documents and inscriptions, much like the other erstwhile Panjab hill-states, the epithet 'Gosāīn' is also used for ascetic-sanyāsīs of various Śaivite sects—the Nāth *panthīs*, Śankarites, etc. They were also patronised by the state as such. For instance, according to the "Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Temple Plate of Satrusimha, VS 1734," a piece of land, six *lahrīs*, was given to two Śankarite ascetics, Balabhadra Girī and Bihārī Girī, the residents of Gīrdhāmṭā in the parganā of Samoṭā in 1668 CE. They were the disciples of Rameśvara Girī, *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 77, pp. 159–60. CBSMC catalogues this as B-34 document, recording it as village Samota in Diūr parganā,

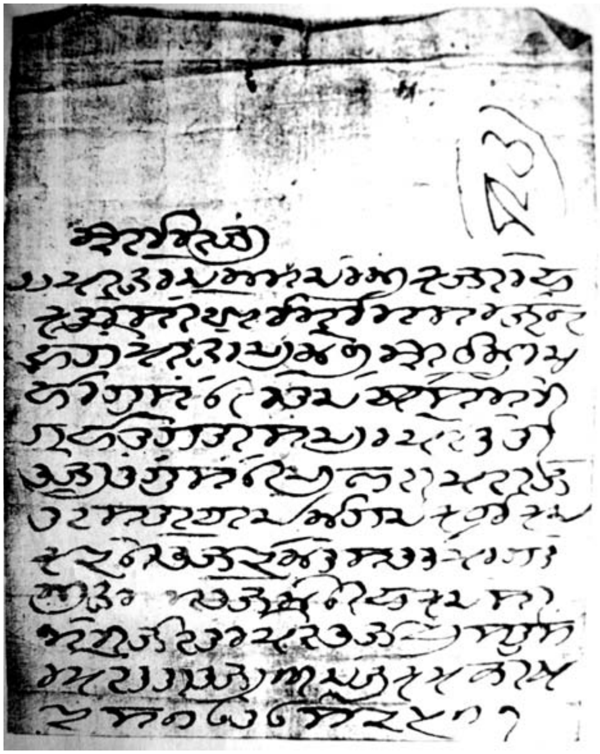


Figure 4.I.4 Death of a Gosāīn, 1872 CE

Ṭhākurdwārā falling within the jurisdiction of the *Koṭhī* of Pihūr. He died. You have not sent any report [confirming the death]. What ever be the assets (moveable and im-moveable) of the Gosāīn be sent along with the detail. [Officials of] all the parganās are also ordered to send in a 'report' (sic) about any person dying within their administrative jurisdiction.[22]

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p. 11. It must be noted that even today the Girī ascetics wield tremendous influence particularly the āśrama at Bhramaur and Chambā. How the Girī priest was associated with the Nāth institution, Inder Girī being the priest also during the Mahantship of Arjan Nāth, (document I.10 of this collection) speaks of convergence of ideology by the state or the sectarian flexibility in Chambā. For various usages of Gosāīn, see, H. A. Rose, *Glossary*, II, pp. 303–4.

[22] It is clear that the state widened its interest in gathering information and it was expected that all sorts of detail would be provided. Particularity, it seems, was manifested in the case of death of people who wielded any sort of influence, or those who possessed grants or property, or those dying unnatural death. Naturally, it meant a review of the grant, tax or property. This is also clear from the document subsequently published in this collection, where a petition was made to the ruler in the early twentieth century

Explain why you [the Kāmadār of Pihūr] have not filed the report [regarding the death of the Gosāīn]. Written on 17 *parviṣṭhe, Sauṇ, Samvat* 1929 (1872 CE).

Document No. I.7
Forced occupation of Jogī's house, 1888 CE

This is a legal document and has two parts. The orders were passed in 1888 and it was admitted as a criminal case. These orders were passed in the name of Rājā Shyām Singh, the ruler of Chambā. Ostensibly, the document was written, or a copy of the orders provided after paying the fee of eight *Ānnās* to the scribe in 1907. We know that in May 1904, Rājā Bhūrī Singh assumed the rule of Chambā after the decision of Rājā Shyām Singh to abdicate, after protracted illness, was accepted. However, as of now, we can only speculate the cause of delay in the execution of the 1888 orders. Perhaps, the criminal court was considering the legality of Sohnu's occupation during this interregnum, though there is no clue in the VS1964 (1907) statement, where only the date of writing this order is mentioned along with the fee paid.

The house was occupied by a Jhīr (*dhīvaras*, of the "Sumangala grant of Vidigdha"), the caste name for a professional water carrier, which was also a professional fishing community and placed lower in the social hierarchy. That people of low status were forcefully occupying the plot indicates the declining status of Jogīs as well as the nature and extent of criminality in the capital.

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about the suicide of the wife of the applicant, (perhaps, a euphemism for murder?), who sought permission for completing the 'repentance' rites. See, 'Legal Documents in Urdu' in this collection (document no. V.6). Contemporary polities in northern India shared this concern, particularly when it interfered with the legal order of the society. For instance, Kāngrā painter Chajju was charged with murder by the Sikh administration of Kāngrā. Subsequently, he was exonerated on the testimony of a Brāhmaṇa who recounted that he was falsely implicated. B. N. Goswamy, *Painters at the Sikh Court*, grant no. VII, p. 69. Perhaps, the state was now getting conscious of projecting its just face, to manufacture, if not available, the consent-for-its rule.

Transcription
1 Re/

Parasrāma

Śrī Rāmajī

Oṃ Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Shām Singh brahma bacane wazīre Govind Chande hathe thaḍe de kārdārā di so in/

> *Ghar thāṅ 1 Ākhare bhī ika ghar thāṅ Chambe de śahar Charpaṭe de bāghīce vic hai Idhī lāma hath 12 caurā hath 8 aṅgaṇe dī lāma hath 12 caurā hath 8 hai Se je ika Chambe de Jhīre Mohaṇe de putre Sohṇu kī māmale uppar dittā Idhī dā māmla rupaiye 11/ 8 ānne varsa ika je dā Sammat 1945 di nyahīṅ lagāyet laiṇe karī khazāne ki bheje karṇe Ghare uppar amal deī ṇā Sohnu je ghar binā aijajatī baṇāi liyā thā Se isā kasure dā māmalā taraī sālā liyā gayā kane age vāste paṭṭā Sohnu laiṇe maṅjūr kitā tāṅ paṭṭā māmale uppar ditā Sammat 1945 Sammat 64 Sūja parviṣṭhe 12 likhayā// Bakśī Dyāla Parasrāma misal nambarī 428 faujdāri Sammat 1945 hukam Bhādro parviṣṭhe 29 dā Sammat 1945.*

Translation

Rupee 1

Signed: Parasrāma

In the name of holy Rāma

Oṃ. Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Shām Singh, the beholder of truth, addresses the Kāradār[23] of *thaḍā* (functionary, perhaps priest, of the sacred seat of Charpaṭnāth) through his wazīr Govind Chand.

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[23] The terms *Kāradār*, invested with multifarious roles and power particularly as revenue functionary, is used in other parts of hill also, for instance in Nirmanḍ, where it seems to be used for the trustee, not priests; for the various *Kāradār* there lived in different villages. It may be construed that the *Kāradār*, in this case, served as a link between the people and the temporal deity—for the spiritual would be the prerogative of the priest—and it through them that consensual decisions of the people were conveyed to the deity. The rulers generally accepted the position of the *devatās* or godlings and sent offerings. In return the deities never questioned their legitimacy as rulers. *Kāradār* normally consisted of more affluent upper caste families, whose vested interest lay in preserving the position of the Rājā; Pamela Kanwar, *Essays on Urban Patterns in Nineteenth Century Himachal Pradesh*, Simla, 1999, pp. 49–50. From the Chambā documents it is clear that there was no hierarchy existing in the Charpaṭnāth's shrine, where the Jogīs, the priest-pujārīs, ruled the roost. This is the only reference

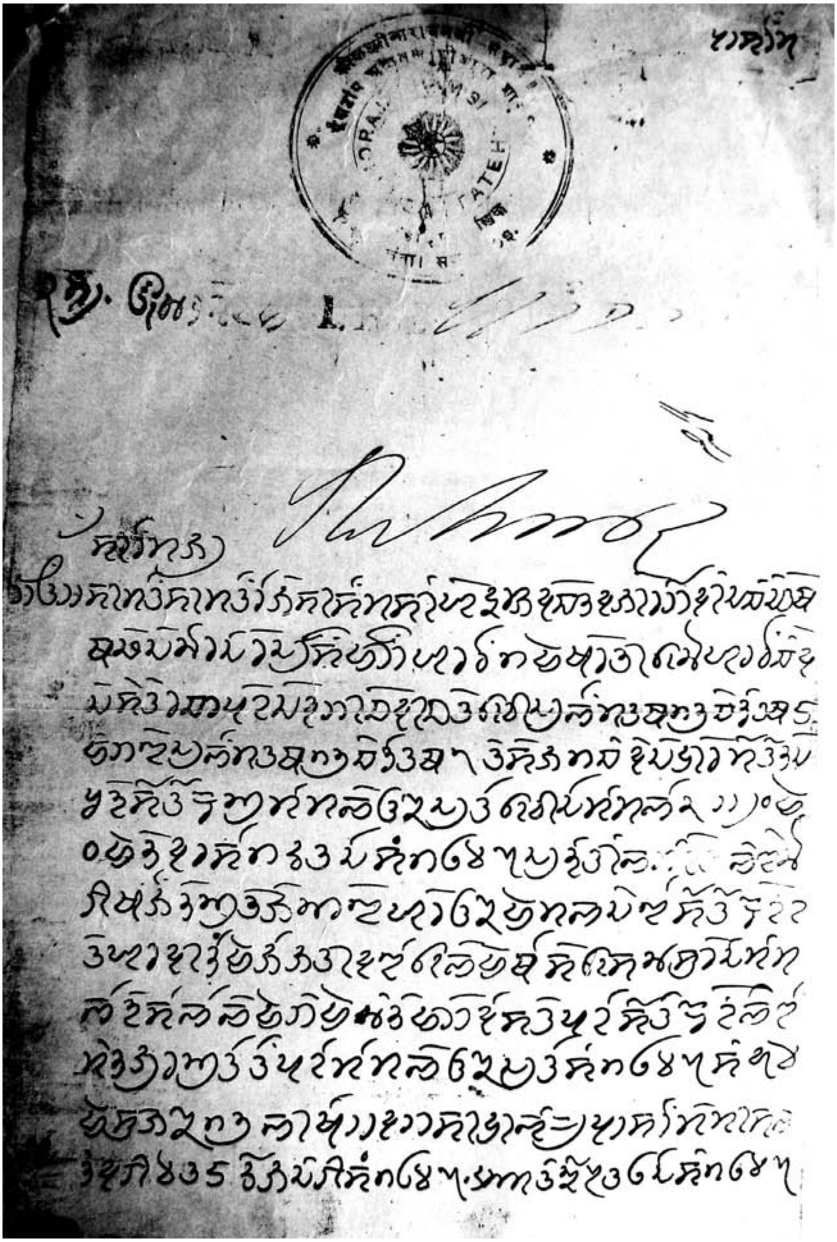


Figure 4.I.5 Forced occupation of Jogī's house, 1888 CE

1 house, in words also one house, within the boundary of the township of Chambā and situated in the garden (literally, the orchard) of Charpaṭ. Its dimensions are 12 arms (literally hand; but locally hand includes the fore-arm for the measurement that is roughly equivalent to a yard) in length and 8 hands in breadth along with a courtyard (*āṅgaṇa*) of [similar] dimensions of 2 [full] arms in length and 8 hands in breadth. This has been given to Sohnu, the son of Jhīr (a caste of water carriers and fishermen in Chambā) Mohan, on the *māmalā* (rental) of Rs. 11 and 8 *Ānnās* per year. Instructed to collect and deposit [the sum so collected] in the treasury as the new rental for the year *Samvat* 1945. Also, to give an *amal* (principal) for this house [to the owner of the land, the priests of Charpaṭ]. It was constructed without [any] permission and for this outrage, the *māmalā* (rental, perhaps as fine in this case) was collected for three years. Further, a grant (*paṭṭā*) of this land was issued, [upon the payment of the principal?] in the name of Sohnu in *Samvat* 1945 (1888 CE). Written (paid 8 *Ānnā*) on 12 *parviṣṭhe Asūj, Samvat* 1964 (1907 AD).

Bakśī Dyāla[24]

Orders written by Parasram on the 29 of *Asūj*, *Samvat* 1945 (1888 CE) while admitting it as a *faujdārī* (criminal) case no. 428.

Document No. I.8
Organising Charpaṭ's commemorative feast, 1854 CE

As asked in document I.6, the officials confirm the death of the officiating Jogī of Charpaṭ, Arjan Nāth, and the new priest, who was the head of the Jogī establishment in the parganā Pihūr, was appointed by the state. As noted in Chapter I as well, the state controlled the priestly and ascetic agency very diligently, being aware of their power over

to *Kāradār*, referring perhaps to both the priest and Jogī. This reading of the term is dependent upon the inference drawn from the fact that, 'the seat of' the deity has been invoked in reference to *Kāradār*, thereby probably meaning the priest of the 'seat'. Moreover, we cannot possibly think that each shrine in Chambā, particularly small shrines with limited resources, like that of Charpaṭnāth, could possibly have separate trustees or state functionaries as *Kāradār* or *Kāmadārs* (used interchangeably in the documents), in contrast to more economically viable and socially or politically sensitive shrines like the one at Nirmaṇḍ.

[24] One of the earlier titles for the official maintaining military accounts and a paymaster, (J. Ph. Vogel and J. Hutchison, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, I, Lahore, 1933, p. 70), which in the late 19th century, after the army was disbanded in 1863–64, assumed the function of, as in this document, the Chief Revenue Officer. Dyāla perhaps is same as Bakśī Prabh Dyāla who as a chief revenue officer carried the powers of 2nd class magistrate and munsiff, *Gazetteer of the Chamba State, 1904*, pp. 262, 267.

the spiritual realm and, thereby, over the people. The document also provides a detailed list of things, such as utensils and knives, sought to cook the commemorative *bhanḍārā*-feast of Charpaṭ. What is interesting is the eye for every detail, like the type of mud to be provided for making the form, perhaps of Mahākālī, whose priests they were as well. The only confusion is if such identification with the goddess was a periodic event or only at the time of investiture of the new Jogī, as in this case, where it was required to renew and reiterate the allegiance. I am, however, of the opinion that this was a part of the annual commemoration ceremony, repeated every year. That this coincided with the ceremony of investiture of the Jogī is incidental.

The fashioning of the image before the ceremony, and returning it back to the elements by immersing it in the flowing water (as in river) was considered auspicious. The most notable example is that of Durgā-pūjā in Bengal (though this was not a common practice in north India). In this particular case, however, the image was fashioned at the beginning of the commemoration ceremonial of Charpaṭ, thereby affirming the relationship between the state and the Siddha through his legates, the Jogīs. How the image should be viewed is debated textually, for instance in the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*.[25] In this *Nigama*, Sadāśiva answers Śrī Devī about the form of Mahākālī, which is made according to "Her qualities and actions (18.4)." As our document begins by informing about the type of mud to be used to make the 'form' (*rūpa*), the text amplifies the 'significance' of this slight information by saying that the image should be black in colour because,[26]

> As white, yellow, and other colours all disappear in black, in the same way, O Śailajā! all beings enter Kālī (5).
>
> Therefore it is that by those who have attained the knowledge of the means of final liberation, the attributeless, formless, and beneficent Kālaśakti is endowed with the colour of blackness (6).

---

[25] Arthur Avalon, Edited and translated. *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra: Tantra of the Great Liberation*, London, 1913.

[26] Ibid. 18. 5–10, 13. This is in reply to the question of how the goddess should be viewed since She is more subtle than the "subtlest elements." Moreover, how could she have form, "It is only that which is the work of *Prakṛti* which has a form. How should She have form?" 18.2–3. For the Bengal perspective of the popular and the Kālī, June McDaniel, *Offering Flowers, Feeding Skulls: Popular Goddess Worship in West Bengal*, New York, 2004, pp. 209–64.

> As the eternal and inexhaustible One image of Kāla and soul of beneficence is nectar itself, therefore the sign of the Moon is placed on her forehead (7). As She surveys the entire universe, which is the product of time, with Her three eyes—the Moon, the Sun, and Fire—therefore she is endowed with three eyes (8).
>
> As She devours all existence, as She chews all things existing with her fierce teeth, therefore a mass of blood is imagined to be the apparel of the Queen of the Devas (at the final dissolution) (9).
>
> As time after time She protects all beings from danger, and as She directs them in the paths of duty, her hands are lifted up to dispel fear and grant blessings (10).
>
> It is for the benefit of such worshippers as are of weak intelligence that the different shapes are formed according to the attributes (of the Divinity) (13).

By following the ritual—right from the making of the image, its consecration and investiture, and finally its immersion—the Jogīs actualized the bond with the deity, thereby assuming the 'sacred persona' of Charpaṭ. In the process, they legitimated their claims as the priests, a process replicated periodically to amplify the inviolability of this 'time' and 'space', which is distinct from the 'profane' space and time emphasised in the temporal affairs of state. The beginning of the 'sacred time' in the commemorative feast of Charpaṭ was a prelude to the month long Joga Jatrā ceremonials, when the deities from all corners of the state, like Devī-Koṭhi, assembled and paid tribute, as discussed earlier in Chapter 2.

Transcription

Śrī Rāmajī

Atha je Sammat 30 Vaisākha parviṣṭhe 8 Śrī Charpaṭnāthe jī de bhanḍāre dī vastī dī sambhāl pīr Arjan Nāth marī gayā tāṅ rātī reporṭ āyī gayī Pihūre de Jogī Ratan Nāth kī saumpī pujāī Jhandā 1; Rūpe dī Miṭṭī 4; tidhī kannū kuṭṭī dī ghanṭī 3 Śrī Charpaṭnāthjī dā āsā dhāti dā Bhuḍkhā

Aihe Caruā 1; nikī Baṭloī 1; Baṭloī 1; Tarmūṅḍī 1; Masurbā 1; Loṭe 4; Thāḷī 4; Kaṭorū 3; tambre dī Kuṭhāī 1; Ārī 1; Naḷera bhajjaḍa; tambre dī Maṇī dā Baṭṭa Patrā; vaqṭṭī dā baḍḍā Bhogṇā; Thāḷī bhajjaḍa 2; Baṭloī uppar ḍhakaṇā

Aihe Ghanṭā 1; Kaṭorī 1; Saṃkha 1;

Śrī Charpaṭ Nāthe dī pūjā dā Lohe dā vastā

Nato lekhā
Aihe Tawārī 1; Saṅdā 2; Rambhī 1; Ganāḷah 1; Joḍā 2; Tawarā 1; Kaneḷ bhajjaḍa 1; Ārti 2; Raḷanū 1; Partaḍī 1; Darāṭī 3; Kaḍchī 1; Churī 1; Hanḍaū 1; Dīyā 1; Jandre 2; Kuṅjī 2; Naḷere dī baḍḍī Naḷī 6

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Written on the 8th *parviṣṭhe* of *Vaisākha, Samvat* 30 (1854) to account for the utensils (*vastī*) required on the occasion of *bhanḍārā* (feast)[27] of Śrī Charpaṭnāth. Also confirmed that yester-night Pīr[28] Arjan Nāth

[27] The feasts were not uncommon. The earliest such evidence is the "Luj Fountain Inscription of the first reignal year of Jāsaṭa" (1105–06 AD), when a feast worth 20 *drammas* (the earliest Chambā currency of uncertain denomination) was given on the occasion of the creation of the fountain slab (Deambi, p. 59). The grain for the feast were, perhaps, supplied by the people of the principality. Vogel, as also Agrawal, however, contends that these grain were supplied to the ruler for the price of 20–0 (or 30) *drammas, Antiquities*, I, p. 205, IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 43, pp. 224–5.

[28] In Panjab the Jogīs of all major monastic centres such as Ṭillā, Kirānā, styled themselves as Mahants or Pīrs. In the hills also, the epithet 'Pīr' was used interchangeably with 'Jogī' or independent of, or along with Jogī. This is interesting as the populace also venerated a number of *darghās* of Pīrs, cutting across the religious divide. However, the earlier documents in Chambā are careful about the usage. For a detailed discussion about the concretisation of popular terminology and practices across the classical forms of religion, particularly in the hills, see, Mahesh Sharma, "Popular Religion: Local Tradition in the Hills of Himachal Pradesh," *Art and Culture: Endeavours in Interpretation*, eds. A. Jan Qaisar and S. P. Gupta, Delhi, Abhinav Publications, 1995; *The Realm of Faith: Subversion, Appropriation and Dominance in the Western Himalaya*, Shimla, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 2001, chapter 1.

The epithet 'Pīr' was also used for the 'Jogī Mahants' of the Jakhbar shrine in the Gurdāspur district of Panjāb, which is a principal seat of the Gangānāth sub-sect—a monastic organisation that was provided *madad-ī-mā'ash* land grant (which conferred 'the right to collect the revenue and keep it') by Akbar, Jahangir, Shāh Jahān, Aurangzeb as well as the early Sikh sovereigns. B. N. Goswamy and J. S. Grewal, *The Mughals and Jogis of Jakhbar*, Simla, 1967, pp. 6, 19–2, 41fn. For the Gangānāthis, see G. W. Briggs, *Gorakhnāth and the Kanphata Jogīs*, Delhi, 1930, rep. 1982, p. 65; H. P. Dwivedi, *Nāth Sampradaya*, Varanasi, 1966, pp. 12–13. Ghurye believes that the title of 'Pīr' was assumed by the 'Jogī Mahants' consciously, "to escape utter annihilation at the hands of the Muslims," G. S. Ghurye, *Indian Sadhus*, Bombay, 1953, p. 157, which I think is too simplistic an explanation. In Chambā, certainly, there was no such threat. The assumption of or delegation of this epithet is either in keeping with the tradition received from the plains like Jakhbar in Panjab; or due to the concretising of (or blurring of) the sacred categories of veneration as pointed out earlier; and most significantly, perhaps impacted by the mutual borrowing of the esoteric practices and knowledge as demonstrated by Dominique-Sila Khan, the coalescence of Nizari-Ismaili and Nāth-Siddha practices, particularly of Aī pantha that Charpaṭ belonged to, *Conversions and Shifting Identities: Ramdev Pir and the Ismailis in Rajasthan*, Delhi, 1997.

died and a report[29] was received that the Jogī of Pihūr, Ratan Nāth, shall be the new priest[30] [to officiate the worship of Charpaṭ].

The following [objects] are required [for the ceremony of conferment of priesthood over the incumbent?]:

Banner 1; *Rupe dī Miṭṭī* (literally, the clay used to make the form, perhaps for Mahākālī—that these Jogīs were the priests of, appointed for the purpose by the state) 4; along with it bells of bronze 3
Bhuḍkhā of *aṣṭadhātū* (bell-metal) of Śrī Charpaṭnāthjī

Utensils:
Caruā 1; small *Baṭloī* (a huge cooking urn shaped pot) 1; *Baṭloī* 1; *Tarmuṅḍī* 1; *Masurbā* or water jug of copper 1; *Loṭā*-urn 4; *Thāli*-plate 4; *Kaṭoru* or bowls of copper/metal 3; *Kuṭhāī*-cauldron of copper 1; Saw 1; Huqāh or water-bubble with metallic water pot (*Naḷera*)[31] 1; *Māṇī dā Baṭṭa Pātrā* or the container for measuring (one maṇa grains, or sixteen KGs or 40 KGs) grain made copper 1; big *Bhognā* or vessel of bronze 1; metalled *thāli*-plate 2; lid of *Baṭloī* pot

[29] 'Report' is originally used in the document to mean—information received. Interestingly, such words from English were creeping in the dialect of Chambā at this moment, which is an indication of interaction among the colonial British officers and the Chambā populace. This is significant because Chambā continued to remain independent of the British paramount and was merged into Indian union as one of the 'princely-states'. The British superintendent, first appointed in 1863, however exercised great influence over Chambā in streamlining the administration which had become disorganised during the minority of Rājā Śrī Singh, and their particular contribution, in conformity with the interests of the 'empire', was the fashioning of its forest, post and telegraph departments.

[30] It seems that the state took an active interest in succession, as priests exercised enormous cultural influence over people, who could sway the sentiments in their catchments area. Therefore, the state could ill afford any inimical elements, detrimental to its interest. The state, however, could arm twist and force its choice as it regulated and maintained the shrines/*derās* through land grants and annuities. For instance, the "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra, VS 1649," issued in 1593 by Balabhadra Varman, conferred priesthood (*purohit* or *purohitya*) upon Baḍū Ratnā. "The ceremony of conferment was, after the fashion of common ceremonial grants, preceded by libation of water (*hastodaka*). The investiture was thus more in the nature of a donation," with the purohit inheriting all the 'customary emoluments' as received by his predecessors. *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 33, pp. 87–89. Similarly in the "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra, VS 1656," priesthood was conferred on one Īśvara Śramaṇa, son of Mādhava, of Atrī gotra in 1599 CE, *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 38, pp. 56–7.

[31] Hookahs with decorated brass water pot were called *nareḷa*, with a *nāḍī* or the water pipe and *cilam* or the tobacco burner placed on the top. CBSMC, J-35, p. 41.

For the worship of Śrī Charpaṭnāthjī
Conch shell 1; Bell[32] 1; *Kaṭorī* or bowl 1

The implements (*vastā*) of iron
Tawārī 1; Saṅdā 2; Rambhī 1; *Ganāḷah* 1 (a huge wooden turf in which wheat flour is kneaded); *Joḍā* or hemp-rope 2; *Tawarā* 1; metalled *Kaneḷa* 1; *Ārtī* or incense burner 2; *Raḷaṇu* 1; *Partaḍī* or inverted sickle 1; Sickle 3; Ladle 1; Knife 1; *Hanḍaū* or lamp-lantern 1; *Diyā*-lamp 1 [of clay]; Locks 2; Their Keys 2; water pipes for the huqāh or water-bubble 6.

Document No. I.9
The missing utensils after feast, 1850 CE

This is the second half of the document. The first half is missing. It seems to be the same, as above (i.e. document no. VIII), as is evident from the last line available to us, probably listing the iron/copper utensils and implements required for the feast-ceremony of Charpaṭnāth. Below this line is the reminder to Jogī Arjan Nāth to return certain utensils which he had borrowed and had not yet returned.

This document is of earlier date, around four years earlier than the above, and it refers to Jogī Pīr Arjan Nāth as alive while the above document was written confirming his death.

Transcription
…Partaḍī 1; Darāṭī 3; Kaḍchī 1; Churī 1; Patsū 1; Diyā 1; Jandre 2; Kunjī 2; Naḷere dī Khopaḍī 6

[32] Two types of bells are distinguished. The first mentioned is a set of three bells of bronze to be used for ritual purposes, called *ghanṭī*, which is the feminine gender of *ghanṭā*. This particular bell, one in number, is addressed in masculine gender, called *ghanṭā*. This subtle differentiation is a distinction of the size, as much it's ritual usage. People gifted *ghanṭās* on particular occasions, the feast of Charpaṭnāth in the present case, which were usually of copper and forged locally by a copper-smith, involving a great expense, hence of particular value apart from its ritual design. This is evident also from the inscription of goddess Cāmuṅḍā, written in Śāstra era 38, or Vikramī Saṃvat 1819 corresponding to the year 1762 CE, issued on Friday, 2 April. According to it, one Panḍit Vidyādhara made a gift of copper bell, which was cast by a copper-smith—Ghamanḍī, to the goddess, weighing 27 Seer and costing 27 Rupees, on the occasion of Mahāṣṭamī. B. Ch. Chhabra, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part II, Insp. No. 104, pp. 175–76.

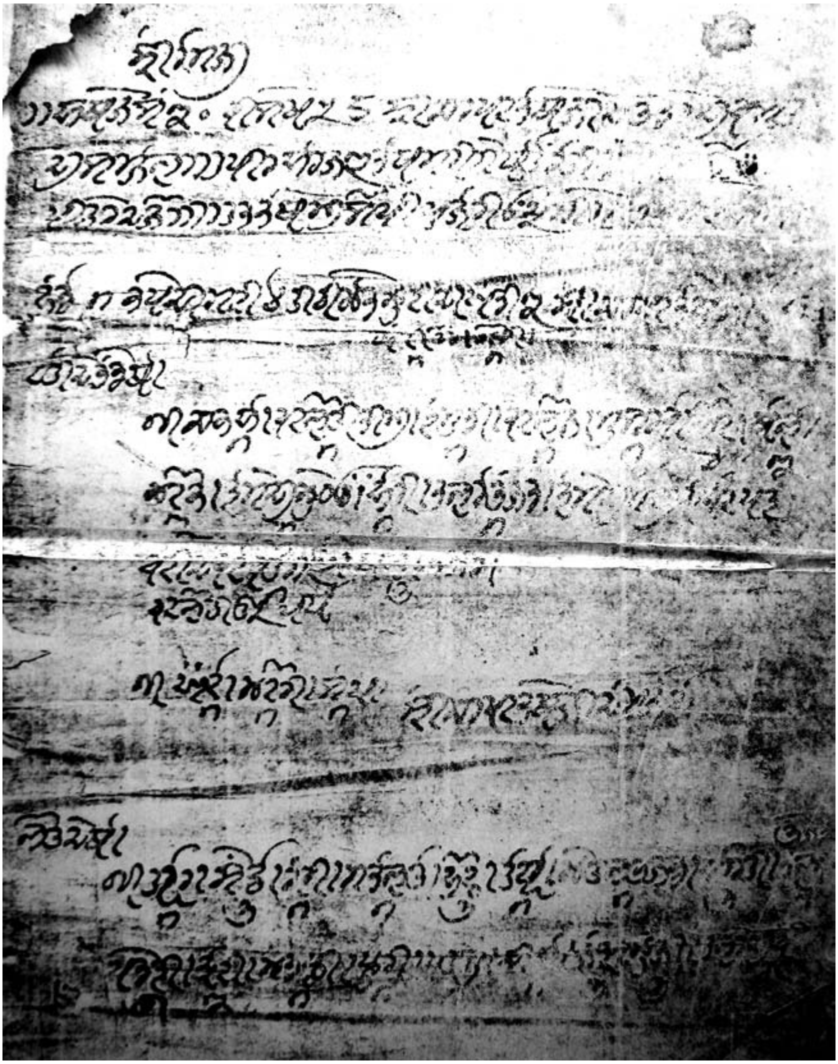


Figure 4.I.6 Organising feast on Charpaṭ's commemoration, 1854 CE

Baṭloī (1)
Śrī Charpaṭnāthe dī Sammat 26 Caitra parviṣṭhe 25 Śrī Mahārāje jī dī jāmaṇī dī dhāmī kī baṭloī 1 caruā 1 Jogī Pīr Arjan Nāthe de gharā kach je Bamphaṭā hathe nitā thā tiddhī vic Caruā 1 phir tā pūjjā baṭloī nahīṅ pūjjī tiddhī dā cetā likhiyā.

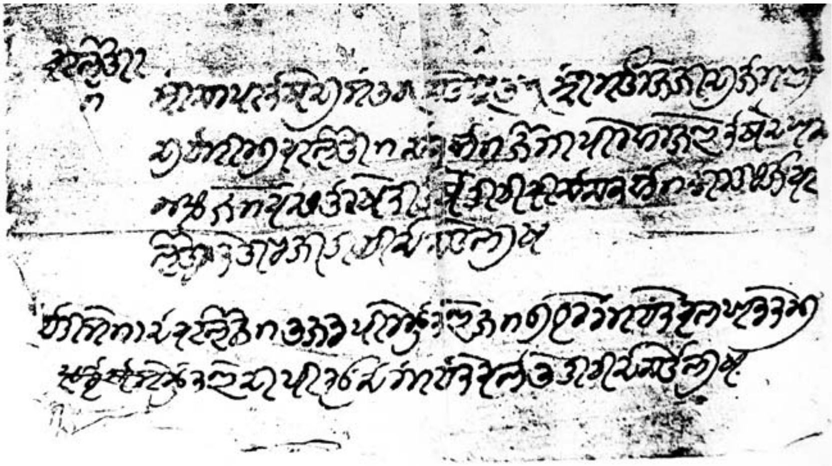


Figure 4.I.7 The missing utensils after feast, 1850 CE

Translation
...*Partarī* 1; Sickle 3; Ladle 1; Vegetable cutting Knife 1; *Patsu* or a kind of axe 1; Lamps made of clay 1; Locks 2; Keys to the locks 2; water pots of the huqāh 6.

Baṭloī (1)
It is to be reminded that the *baṭloī*, used for the birthday feast, *dhāma*, of the Mahārājā, and donated by the Mahārājā himself [to the portal of Charpaṭnāth] was delivered by Bamphaṭā at the house of Jogī Pīr Arjan Nāth along with one *Caruā* or a knife on 25 *parviṣṭhe* of *Cait* in *Samvat* 26 (1850). While the *Caruā* has been returned, the *baṭloī* continues to remain in the domestic possession of Jogī Arjan Nāth. This is written as a reminder [that a *baṭloī* is to be collected].

Document No. I.10
Reminder by the new head, Ratna Jogī, 1854 CE

This tone of this document is rather ambivalent. One, the Girīs—one of the Daśanāmī orders started by Śankracarya—are associated as the *pujārī*-priests with the shrine of Charpaṭ, who belonged to the ascetic order that was opposed to the ideology of the Nāths. Yet, Ratna Jogī was the head of the shrine in 1854, who, after his elevation to the 'sacred office', was making various arrangements and appointments. It

also indicates that the tillers of the soil (*Hāḷī*, lit. the one who ploughs) paid tribute both in cash and kind. This was possibly farmed to a certain person (*Manetharī*, lit. collection in weight by *Maṇa*), in this case for a fixed amount of ten Rupees. On the occasion of the commemorative feast of Charpaṭ, all of them paid a fixed sum of money and certain other produce twice a year for each of the two harvests (See Documents: II: Collection). The picture that emerges is much like the revenue farming that the pre-modern states in South Asia resorted to from their feudatories/chieftains. That the political system was projected into the organisational structure of a monastic/sectarian order is also not unusual. The correspondence between the sacred and the profane realms and the simultaneity between the two, however, needs better appreciation and understanding. A Jogī, like the local chieftain, was thus elevated as the 'chief' (Pīr-Jogī) of a particular parganā from where he collected tribute at various times and managed the land, if granted (?) as well. In lieu of this he provided a fixed sum in cash and grain at each of the two harvests. As is clear from the subsequent documents, the payment was mostly made once a year and only one harvest was possible in most areas as land, not being fertile, was left barren (*khīlagat*). The Jogīs of Charpaṭ thus wielded influence by controlling the right to appointment and elevation of Jogīs, yet also ensured fixed returns at the end of each harvest season.

All was not well with the Jogī Mahants of the portal around this time. Document I.5 refers to a grant made in the favour of Amar Nāth Jwāla Nāth. But from Document I.9 we learn that Arjan Nāth was the Mahant in 1850. He died in 1854 and was succeeded by Ratna Jogī, as per the document produced below. This conflicts with the dates of Amar Nāth Jwāla Nāth. The fact that the son and father are mentioned together, which is not typical of the north Indian documentation, is indicative of the power struggle and schism that was going on in the circle of the Chambā Jogīs. While one set was emphasising the lineal descent from Gulāb Nāth (Jwāla is the son, who is a Jogī in 1818 paying tribute to Gulāb Nāth, see Document II.2; but is the Mahant in 1827: document I.4); the other was, perhaps, emphasising the election from among the community of brothers, the *Guru-bhāīs*. It seems that for a while there were two sets of claimant, and that is why the Girīs were appointed as the *pujārīs* of the portal of Charpaṭ.

Transcription

Śrī Rāmajī

Cetā

10 Rupiye je Rupiye 10 Rājnagar, Ḍhunḍhī, Kuhāl Kharauṭī de je Dhunḍhī de Haḷī Ratnā kī Manetharī dittī cetā muddā barkhā 1 fasalā 2 dā Śrī Charpaṭnāthe dī Śrī Kārā lainā Ratne dainā Sammat 30 dī nyāhiṅ mukkhe kitā Ratna Nāthe baiṭhe Sammat 30 Vaisākha parviṣṭhe 17 likhiyā pūjārī Inder Gīr baiṭhe.

Rupaiye 10
Je Ḍhuṅḍhī de Haḷī Ratne daine barkhā 1 fasalā 2 de Sammat 30 dī nyāhiṅ lagāyat āgat.

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Reminder

10 Rupees. Given the *Manethara* (the right to collect in kind the prescribed/obligatory weight-age in grain, *ghee*, goats for sacrifice, other products, and cash-*rokā*) of [the parganās of] Rājnagar, Ḍhundhī, Kuhāl and Kharauṭī to the Haḷī Ratna of Ḍhundhi for ten Rupees. Ratna is reminded to give us *Śrī Kārā* (to provide grains for the commemorative feast) of Charpaṭnāth from the second harvest of the year from the beginning of *Samvat* 30. This was decided by the sitting Jogī Ratna Nāth on the 17 of *Vaisākha Samvat* 30 (1854) and written by the officiating *pūjārī*-priest Inder Gīr.

Detail:
10 Rupees from *Haḷī* of Ḍhundhī, Ratna, as a new contract for the second harvest of *Samvat* 30 or 1873.

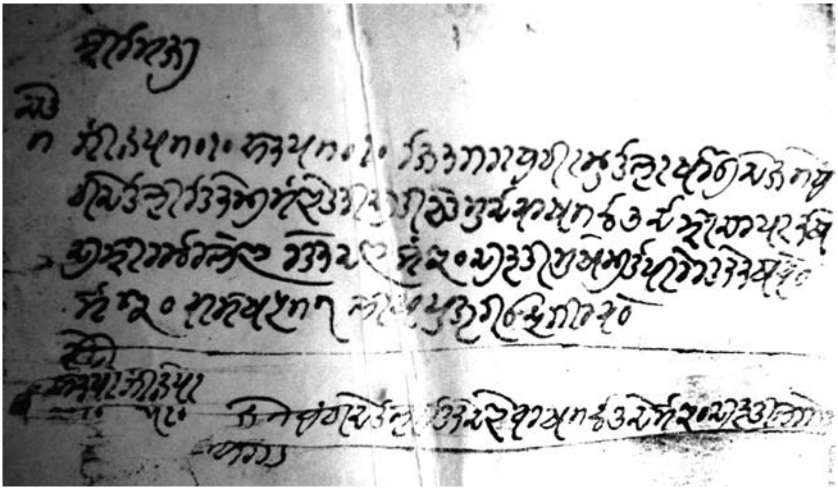


Figure 4.I.8 Reminder by the new head, Ratna Jogī, 1854 CE

4.II
The Monetary Affairs

The annual/biannual collection that the Jogīs received is significant also because of its size. While we have examples of huge endowments made to big shrines or other religious institutions, these grants are typical because they are so small. They are indicative of things that worked at the level of 'locality' or for the regional kingdoms; in as much how the small shrines figured in the fiscal arrangement of the state, vital as they were for creating consent for the rulers.

The grants also relate to the economy of hill-states, in as much as the way the agrarian communities organised themselves. The proceeds are thus complex, in a sense that it is not a simple collection of money, but also of produce—the grains, pulses, wild products like incense and honey &c.—and domestic animals, particularly sheep and goats; or animal-related produce like *ghee* etc. The latter were not necessarily for the purpose of sacrifice; as such offerings would be different than the yearly tribute or revenue payment.

The collections were made bi-annually, at the end of each harvest. But as most of the land donated was not conducive for double cropping, or was left fallow (*khila*) every alternative year/crop to reclaim fertility, mostly single annual collections were made. The number of

people actually providing wheat and paddy is also the index of the fertile areas. Since, the number is low, it is suggestive of the fact that most of the grants were limited to peripheral hill terrain, where maize and millet were the major crops along with *Māśa-dāla* or pulses (black gram, *Phaseolus radiatus*).

It is also a world of meagre resources and a sense of power could be attained in small things, like possessing *dupātrā*, or the 'measure' required to weigh grain. The proceeds through the obligatory collection/donation, even if it is meagre, are represented through the length and breadth of the state, emphasising the popularity of the sect and Charpaṭ. Finally, the account-sheets also are an opening into the cultural working of the society. One, all types of people are associated with the sect, the elite and subaltern alike. Two, the notion of caste is rudimentary, reflecting the limited significance of such categories in the rural hill areas. Perhaps it was a three-fold division in the peripheral areas, rather than the urban areas like Chambā town where the 11th century inscription speaks of crystallization of 'castes' much like the Indo-Gangetic plain (see, Chapter I, section 2). The tripartite division, as reflected in these documents, consists of: the priestly, the warrior and the 'service' castes. While the priests are always mentioned as the 'Brāhmaṇa'; the warriors are the 'Miāns', which is rather a Mughal title that the royalty started using and perhaps became an epithet for the warrior caste. This distinction is from those members who were of humble indigenous origins, called the Rāṭhis. But, when it comes to the 'service castes', they are known by their occupation rather than caste names. So 'tillers' are the Haḷīs in the 'caste' column in these account-sheets; even *Śasaṇe Haḷī*, or those who till the *Śāsana* land, or the land grant made to a religious institution; Mahājanas-the merchants; Ḍumaṇas, the basket makers; Kumhāra or potters; Suniyāras or goldsmiths; Lohāras or blacksmith; Kāyasthas or the 'scribes'; Mehtās or the accountants, 'document-writers'. In other words, while all the textualists and ritualists were known as the 'Brāhmaṇas', who were also known by their professional names like *Jyotiṣī*-astrologers, or *purohit*-the family priest, or *pujārī*-the temple priests (there was a defined internal hierarchy, as well), the members of the service communities were not named after their Varaṇa (four-fold caste-order), as Vaiṣya or Śudra. Instead, they were called by their profession-caste name, Kumhār, Lohār, Camār, etc. This, however, provided elasticity to the notion of exclusion or inclusion, dependent upon the caste configuration in a given area. So certain castes considered 'untouchables' in a particular area and kept

away from the household, might be 'clean castes' in another area and, therefore, could serve within the household. In fact, regions would also be hierarchically organised, based upon such considerations. The point that I am trying to emphasise is that caste categories were not rigid when it came to the service providers. They were loosely classified to facilitate service relations to benefit the members at the top of hierarchy—the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas or the priest and warrior—who were dependent upon them to live their day-to-day life.

Similarly, the people who were in state service were enumerated by their position, which augmented their social status. A person was called 'Guardi', perhaps a 'guard' in the Imperial Forest Department. We know that Jogī Mādho called himself 'Chārī', the administrative position that he held in the Chambā state (Documents V: Legality). This is again significant, a pointer to the ways the attitudes were formed. The usage of 'official designations' as social markers created a subtle distinction that aimed at leveraging the 'social status' within the 'caste community'. This, in fact, is a larger case of caste dynamics in India. For instance, the usage of titles Chaudharī, Ṭhākur, Rāo, etc., as caste names, set them apart and lead to the making of a distinct 'caste community' which differed in status and eventually the intra-Varaṇa hierarchy. Today, the members of these communities take these 'titles' as their given caste names, ignorant that they were once 'titles' that over a period became caste markers.

Yet, people were aware of the sectarian boundaries, perhaps the broad ideologies. In the caste column thus, the distinction between the Nāth and Jogī is sustained. Even non-Hindu categories are reduced to caste names like the 'Muslims', who were the graziers. Their inclusion in the caste category again defines the way 'caste', as a social institution, was understood in the peripheral areas. The fact that these Muslim-graziers were contributing to the portal of Charpaṭ underscores the 'hybridity' of popular culture that surmounted the rigid-religious boundaries, particularly in the agrarian-scape. This is also complimentary to the Jogīs calling the Mahant or the head of the portal as 'Pīr' or 'Pīr-Jogī'.

Document No. II.1
Receipt from Jogī Jwālā Nāth, 1818 CE

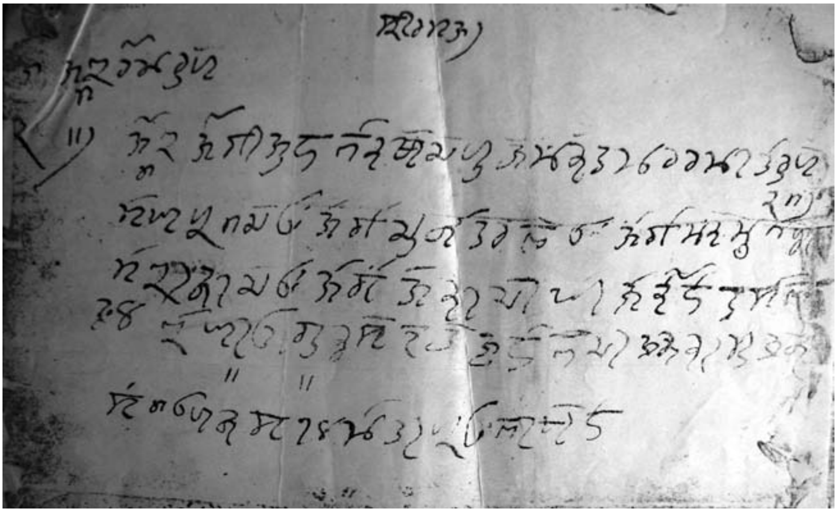


Figure 4.II.1a Receipt from Jogī Jwālā Nāth, 1818 CE

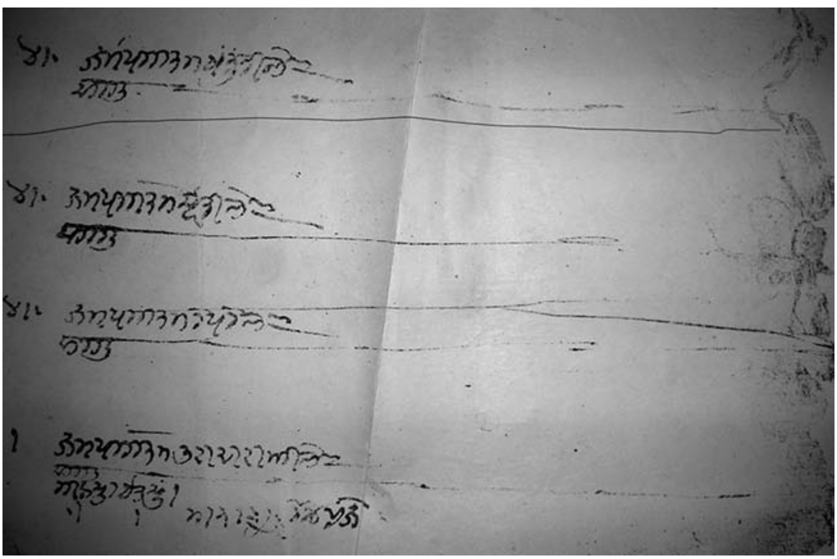


Figure 4.II.1b 1881 receipts (reverse)

Transcription

Śrī Rāmajī

Jūṇe Rokā Rupaiye

3 Rupaiye 8 Anne
Jūṇe Jogī Jwālā Nāthe de puje kanne ikrār kīttā Rupaiye Re 1/Māgh parviṣṭhe 1 daī jānghā dupatrā laī jānghā kanne kula pūrā Māṇī bhī laī jānghā fere nī diṅdā tāṅ nauāṅ hisāb baṇdā gheeü guḍa se aihe Jwāle dī jabānī mūjjab Sammat 195 je Sammat 74 Kātī parviṣṭhe 1 likhiya.

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Goats, Rokā (literally, tribute in cash) Rupees

3 Rupees and 8 *Ānnās*
Received goats from Jogī Jwālā Nāth. He promised that the money (Rupee 1?) shall be given by 1 [One] *parviṣṭhe* of the *Māgh* month [of the same year]. He shall then take the *dupatrā* (the measure by volume) and defray the entire amount due from him for the *Māṇī* or weightage. If it is not given, then a fresh account (contract?) is to be made. He shall also give *ghee* and jaggery. Written as per the word of Jwālā on 9 *parviṣṭhe* of *Kātī*, (Śastra) *Samvat* 195, (Vikramī) *Samvat* 74, (1818–19 CE).[33]

5–1–0)	From 1 parganā 1 Hubār Income	to get
4–1–0)	From 1 parganā 1 Khaṅḍūḍī Income	to get
4–1–0)	From 1 parganā 1 Drāvāḍī Income	to get
4–1–0)	From 1 parganā 1 Raipar (Rājpur) Income	to get
1–1–0)	From 1 parganā 1 Bhaṭṭī Ṭikarī Income	to get

33 In the "Jvālāmukhī Plate of Balabhadra, VS 1686," the Śastra year is mentioned as 105 instead of customary 05 only, since the centuries are omitted in such reckonings. *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 52, pp. 117–18. Similarly, the Śastra 195 or 95 would correspond to 1819 CE; while Vikramī Samvat 74 or 1874 would correspond to 1817–17 CE.

Wheat 1 *druṇ* Rice 1 *druṇ* (4) rupees in cash
Received

Document No. II.2
Collection from the Parganās, 1856 CE

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

The break up or parganā wise collection for the *Samvat* 32 (1856) as provided for the *Māṇī* (weighted collection i.e. collection made in kind by the designated *Maṇethar* or the collector) of Charpaṭnāth before proceeding on the *yātrā* of Maṇimaheśa. The account sheet as prepared by Pīr Ratna Nāth.[34]

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[34] Such collection grants are common throughout the western Himalayas, as in Chambā, Kāngrā, Manḍī, and the Śimla hill-states. For instance, the people of Shātlā village in the state of Kumhārsain donated a land-*jāgīr* of 225 bīghās to their *devatā*, Caturmukha, and themselves became its tenants. Each tenant hence undertook to pay a fixed customary amount to the *devatā*, to the tune of two *paths* of grain/mustards/cereals per *bīghā* of the land tilled and 125 gms of ghee annually. This worked out to nine quintals of grain, fifteen quintals of oil, and a *nazarānā*-tribute of Rs.100. R. C. Pal Singh, ed. *Village Survey Shatla*, Census of India, 1961, XX, (Part VI); Also, Pamela Kanwar, *Essays on Urban Patterns in Nineteenth Century Himachal Pradesh*, Simla, 1999, p. 55.

There is also another side to the collection. For instance, as is clear from the "Chambā Grant of Ananda Varman," the grantee could till the land himself or get it tilled, which was the usual practice, for which he received the share at each harvest. IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 75, p. 293. The grants being dispersed, the numbers of share-croppers are much more, leading to an exhaustive collection, even though the quantity of each collection was small. This was particularly true for the temples that were not only granted land or a share in the harvest, as Charpaṭ's portal, but also specific products were provisioned for the ritual, such as rice, oil, etc. by the ruler as well as the populace. A prominent such case is the temple of Śiva (Vaidyanāth) at Kīragrāma, modern Baijnāth, in Kāngrā district, build around 1204 CE. The twin inscriptions record the donation to Mahādeva, of one plough of land in the village Pralaṃbha, half a plough of land in Navagrāma, two *droṇas* of paddy in Navagrāma, etc., the ruler donating "six *drammas* (money) daily from the money accruing from the income of the custom," a shop and a "machine for tracting oil…for providing lamps," IHHPPKAHT, insp. nos. 79 & 80, pp. 298–317; G. Buhler, "The Two Praśastīs of Baijnāth," *Epigraphia Indica*, I, Calcutta, 1892, pp. 97–118. For the context, J. Ph. Vogel, "Ancient Monuments of Kāngrā Ruined in Earthquake," *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report—1905–06*, pp. 17–25.

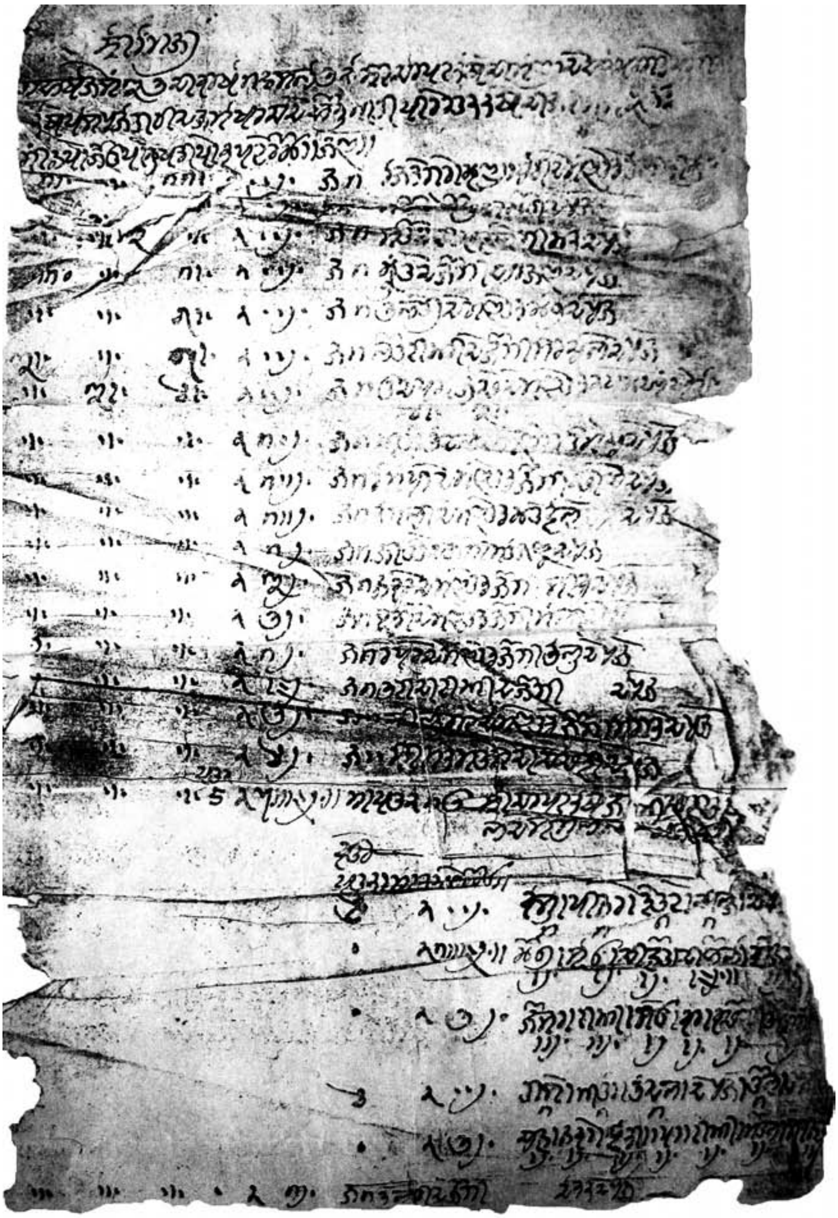


Figure 4.II.2 Collection from Parganās, 1856 CE (two sheets joined)

Note: The grains are measured in *peḍā/māṇī/seer*; money as Rupee-*Ānnā*- *Paisā*—local currency

Wheat	*Barley*	*Maize*	*Cash*	*Goats*	*Received From*
P/M/S	P/M/S	P/M/S	R/A/P		
1/0		11/0	0–2–1	1	From Bhikhū Maṇethar of Rājnagar, Kiyaṇī, Ḍhunḍhī
1/0		11/0	0–2–1	1	from Ranuh di Koṭhī
1/0		3/0	0–2–1	1	from the clan of Devī Dyāl of Sāho
0/10		1/0	0–2–1	1	from Jogī Arjan of Kuraha
		6/0	0–2–1	1	From Kanṭha, Maṇethar of Bhalaī.
3/0		6/0	0–2–1	1	From Sarva Dyāla of Loh Ṭikirī
	3/0	4/0	0–2–1	1	From Ghangā Maṇethar of Udaipur.
			10–0	1	From Haḷī Lachmaṇa Dyāl of Kihār
			1–8–0	1	From Jogī Bhinjā Maṇethar of Rāmpur
			1–8–0	1	From Kāh Dyāl Maṇethar of Nāgalī.
			1–0–0	1	From Jogī Mahājana of Jinyūr
			3–0–0	1	From Jogī Śibbu Maṇethar of Hubār.
			2–0–0	1	From Jogī Māli Maṇethar of Cuāri.
			1–0–0	1	From Jogī Nihālu Maṇethar of Rāipur.
			0–7–0	1	From the Jogī of Bhaṭṭi Ṭikarī
			2–0–0	1	From Jogī Magnā Maṇethar of Lilah and Gihun
			4–0–0	1	From the collection of Śrī Maṇimaheśa

Detail

Received in total 8 Rupee; 5 *Ānnā*; 14 *Paisā*; 2 Mi?; 19 male Goats for the *Bhagtāī* (sacrifice) of Śrī Charpaṭnāthjī

Detail

In lieu of Goats

4 Rupee 12 *Ānnā*.	Received from the parganā of Bassu/Pihūr/Trehṭa/Lillah
1 *Ānnā* and 14 *Paisā*	Koṭhī /Swaī/Ciṭhioṭa 4 *Ānnā* each; Deol 6 *Ānnā* and 2 *Paisā*/ Bassu 8 *Ānnā*.

2 Rupee	Jasaur and Ṭikarī 8 *Ānnā* each; Saī/Bairā/Badhoṅaṭ/Jaṅgati 4 *Ānnā* each
4 Rupee 12 *Ānnā*	One Rupee each from Tissā/Kihār/Bhāndal/Haul
3 Rupee	4 *Ānnā* each from Chunah/Hubār/Cuāri/Rāipur/Ṭikarī/Moṭṭāḷā; and 8 *Ānnā* from Sihuṅṭā.
1 Rupee and 1 Goat from the Jogī Darū Nāth of Ranaiṭī.	
3 Rupee	2 *Ānnā* and 2 Goats from *Suniyārā* (Goldsmith) Makhan of Sihuṇu.

Document No. II.3
Details of collection, sacrifice and weightage, 1857 CE

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Grant 1

The account of money collected and received during *Samvat* 33 (1857). The account of money and goats received as *rokā* (cash donation) of *Māṇī* (weightage), goat-sacrifice, and the *upeṭa*.[35] The following is the account in terms of Rupee (money) and goats or *jeṇe*.

[35] This was a kind of local tax collected from the peasants and the right of usage was given to Charpaṭnāth, for its maintenance, in lieu of the land grand. Though no such tax is mentioned in the published Volumes of Chambā inscriptions, yet we know of several local cesses, the import of which is difficult to analyse or contextualise. The nearest, in sound, is a tax called *upoda* (Chhabra informs that it is the vernacular form of Sanskrit *upmoda*), along with other local taxes such as *pajāhaka*, etc. as have been mentioned in the "Vādī grant of Śrī Singh issued in Vikramī Samvat 1913 or the year 1857 CE." It is difficult to contextualise these local cesses of Vādī grant as these are in the names of those donees who were exempted and no other information about them exists. Perhaps, the *upoda* of the Vādī grant and *upeta* of Charpaṭnāth are the same tax. B. Ch. Chhabra, *Antiquities of Chambā State*, Part II, Delhi, 1957, Insp. No. 81, pp. 166–68. The "Vadi grant of Sri Simha VS 1913" similarly exempts the shrine of the goddess from the following tax: "*vākśa, poṁda, upoṁda, paṁjahakā*" among others. In the "Annexure," A. N. Khanna, in "Socio-Economic Gleanings from the Post-Thirteenth Century Inscriptions," In *A Western Himalayan Kingdom*, eds. V. C. Ohri and A. N. Khanna, pp. 47–48.

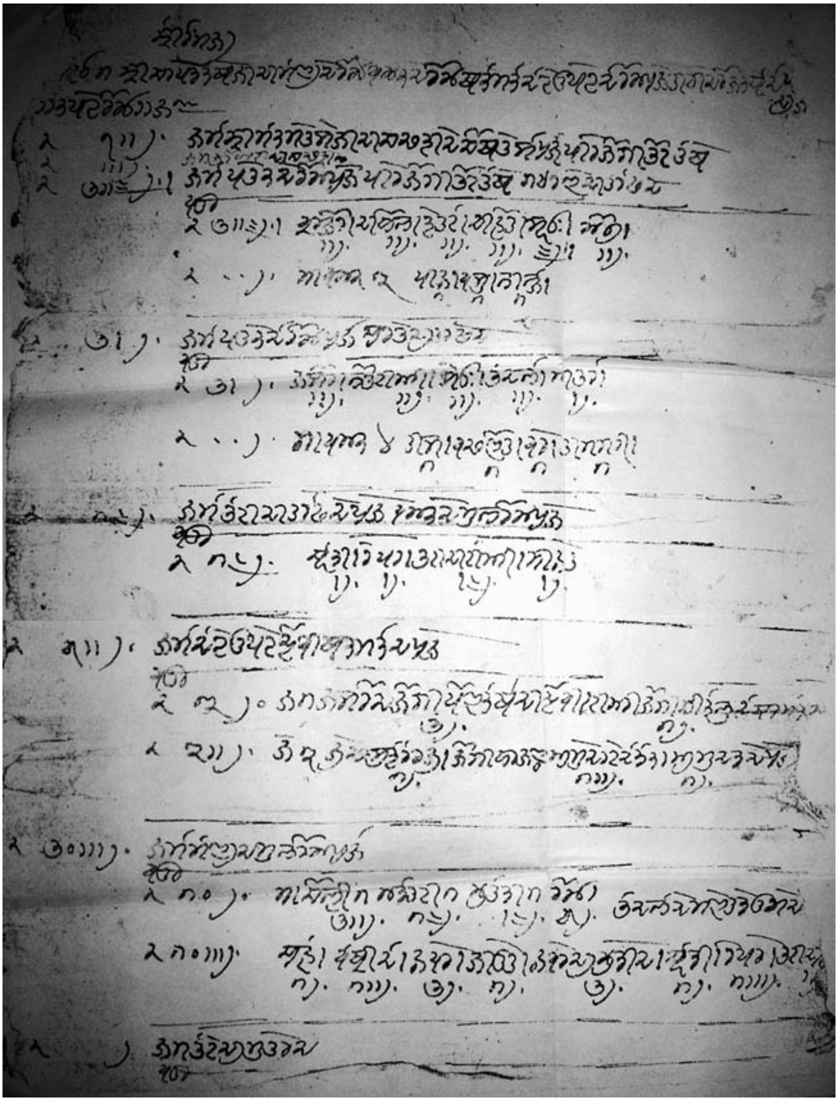


Figure 4.II.3 Details of collection, sacrifice and weightage, 1857 CE (in two sheets)

7 Rupee and 8 *Ānnā*. Received as the one-fourth share of Charpaṭnāth from the *chatrī*-parasol of Maṇimaheśa pilgrimage. Received through the hands of Pīr Jogī Bhota.

12 *Ānnā*. Received as a share from the *chatrī*-parasol of Bhairojī (Bhairava).

2 Rupees and 11 *Ānnā*. Received the money for the *rokā* of goat from the Gadheraṇa through the hands of Pīr Jogī Bhoṭā.

Detail:

2 Rupee 11 *Ānnās* and 1 *Paisā*. 8 *Ānnās* each from Bhramaur, Deol, Trehṭa, Canhoṭā and Koṭī. 3 *Ānnās* and a *Paisā* from Syayī.

3 he-goats. One each from Pihūr, Bassu and Lillah.

2 Rupees and 4 *Ānnās*. Received the money for the *rokā* of goat from Churāh.

Detail:

2 Rupee and 4 *Ānnās*. 8 *Ānnā* each from Jassor, Loh Ṭikarī, Saī and Bhāndal. 4 *Ānnā* from Kihār.

4 he-goats. One each from Tissā, Bafnautā, Bairā and Himgirī.

1 Rupees and 8 *Ānnās*. Received the money for the *rokā* of goat from Bhaṭṭī.

Detail:

1 Rupee and 8 *Ānnās*. 4 *Ānnās* each from Cuāri, Rāipur and Sihunṭā.

6 *Ānnās* from Bhaṭṭī dī Ṭikarī.

6 Rupee and 8 *Ānnā*. Received as *upeṭa*.[36]

Detail:

3 Rupee. Received as a share from the *dharmārth* grant to Jogī Chihanu at Ṭikarī, from the Jasrodh Jogī Paun Nāth.

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[36] Interestingly, no parganā is mentioned as the source of this money. It is probably a local cess that was contributed by certain cultivators across the length and breadth of the wazārat (administrative division) or even the state. The sum thus collected is mentioned, instead of an individual collection, as in the case of other collections. The sum mentioned may also be the share that was due to Charpaṭnāth out of the larger collection made under the head, hence eliminating the scope for mentioning a particular parganā it was collected from or contributed by.

3 Rupee and 8 *Ānnās* from three *Jaffe*,[37] on the ceremony of *muṅdrā*, or wearing the Nāth ear-ring.[38] Rupee one each from Suniyāra Rāju and Rupee 1 and 8 *Ānnsā* from Jogī Arjan.
20 Rupee and 12 *Ānnās*. Received as the collection from the *rokā* of *Māṇī*.

Detail:
10 Rupee. Received from the Maṇethar Umedha of Bhāndal collected from: 6 Rupee as *Rokā* of *Māṇī*; 2 Rupees and 8 *Ānnās* for *chauṇī*; Rupee 1 and 2 *Ānnās* for *kaḍahaṭī*-cauldron; and 6 *Ānnās* for *kuhāḍī*-axe.
10 Rupee and 12 *Ānnās*. 8 *Ānnās* from Bhaṭṭī dī Ṭikarī. 1 Rupee each from Cuhān, Sihunṭā and Cuāri. 1 Rupee and 8 *Ānnās* from Bathrī. 1 Rupee and 12 *Ānnās* from Raipur. 2 Rupee each from Hubār and Hubāre dī Kuḍḍī.
Received from the share of the provision store (*haṭa* or *hāṭa*) of....

Detail:....

[37] The word Jaffe is more like the Sufi *murīd* before he becomes the Pīr or *walī*, or the celā before he becomes the Siddha or Nāth. This is also significant, though speculative, as there was a mutual borrowing of rituals and praxis between the Jafaris and the Nāth Jogīs. Since these Jogīs are using the honorific Pīr for the adept and the elect, the Mahant, they are also using Jaffe as the transformative term for a novice who is going through the ritual that will see him on the road to becoming an adept.

[38] Rose, emphasises the ritual of wearing ear-rings. The adept who oversees the ceremony "is entitled to Rs. 1–4 as an offering which may or may not be accepted." The significance of the ear-rings is such that the Jogi whose "ears were cut (thereby losing the ear-rings) used to be buried alive, but is now (around 1900) only excommunicated." *Glossary*, II, p. 401.

It seems that such fees, as the Mahant getting 3–8–0 (Rose indicating 1 to 4), were fairly standardised, which is indicative of the correspondence between the Chambā Jogīs with their counterparts in the Indian sub-continent.

Document No. II.4
Details of the grain, ghee *and goats received, 1857 CE*

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Grant 2[39]

The following is the account of the grain (wheat) and *gihüṅd or gihüp* (*ghee*?) in *peḍā* and the goats to be received during the *Māṇī* of Charpaṭnāth in *Samvat* 33 (1857).

2/0 to receive 2 *peḍā* from the second crop of the year from

[39] Perhaps, this grant is the amount received from the Jogī priest of the sub-shrines (i.e. linked to the major shrine at Chambā), or the servitors of these shrines or even the tenants, as the land grants were made to the shrines as maintenance grants and such people managed them for the shrines or for Jogīs who received an agreed upon amount annually or after each crop as the case may be. This is clear from the "Mangaloa Plate of Pratāpsiṃha, Śastra 58," issued to Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa in which fixed receipts are received by the deity from its managers. According to this grant, issued on the occasion of the restoration of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple, the village of Mangaloā was bestowed to the deity, entrusted to Hamīrā, Hedo and Chipū, to manage for it. The details of the agreement with these individuals were as: "(Hamirā is to give) 8 *peḍās* of wheat, 3 *peḍās* of peas, 1 *peḍā* of green-grams and (*rokā* of) four copper *ṭaṅkās* (same as ṭakkā); (Hedo to give) ¼ *seer* of ghee and 1 copper *ṭaṅkā*; (and Chipū to give) ¼ *seer* of honey and 5 copper *ṭaṅkās* in cash. The tax should be regularly paid to the Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa." *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 25, pp. 72–73. Similarly, according to the "Jungal Plate of Balabhadra, VS 1648" the donee, a recipient of a revenue free or *hastodaka* grant, agreed to pay, "4 four pīṭakas of grain and two 2 ṭaṅkās, which Khidarā (the donee) is to pay annually…" It was also clearly pointed out that within the boundary of the granted land, "all the trees and plants and the *kliṃ* wood are reserved to the king. No objection is to be raised as regards that." *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 30, pp. 82–83. In the "Jungrar Plate of Bhotavarman," the king "who is constantly engaged in the worship of gods and Brāhmaṇas," while donating land in the Churāh or Caturāha *manḍala* to one Vādi Brāhmaṇa, expected "four pieces of elephant rugs and three *Śaghas*" (a bird), IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 68, p. 270. However, in the "Chambā Grant of Ananda Varman," it was also stated clearly that the land, measured in this case in terms of paddy seed sown, was granted to the persons to be managed as they wished. They could till it in person, or "cause [it] to be tilled, enjoy [the produce] and cause other to enjoy [it]. They may act according to their wishes. None should cause an obstruction," IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 75, pp. 290–3.

Such grants were complex in terms of revenue sharing, which was sometimes fixed in such a way that the donee paid to the main and secondary shrines at the same time. For instance, in Samvat 2011 (1953–54 AD), the tenant of the shrine of Devī Vaire Wālī paid the shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa the following revenue (tribute) on the occasion of the festival of *Sair*:

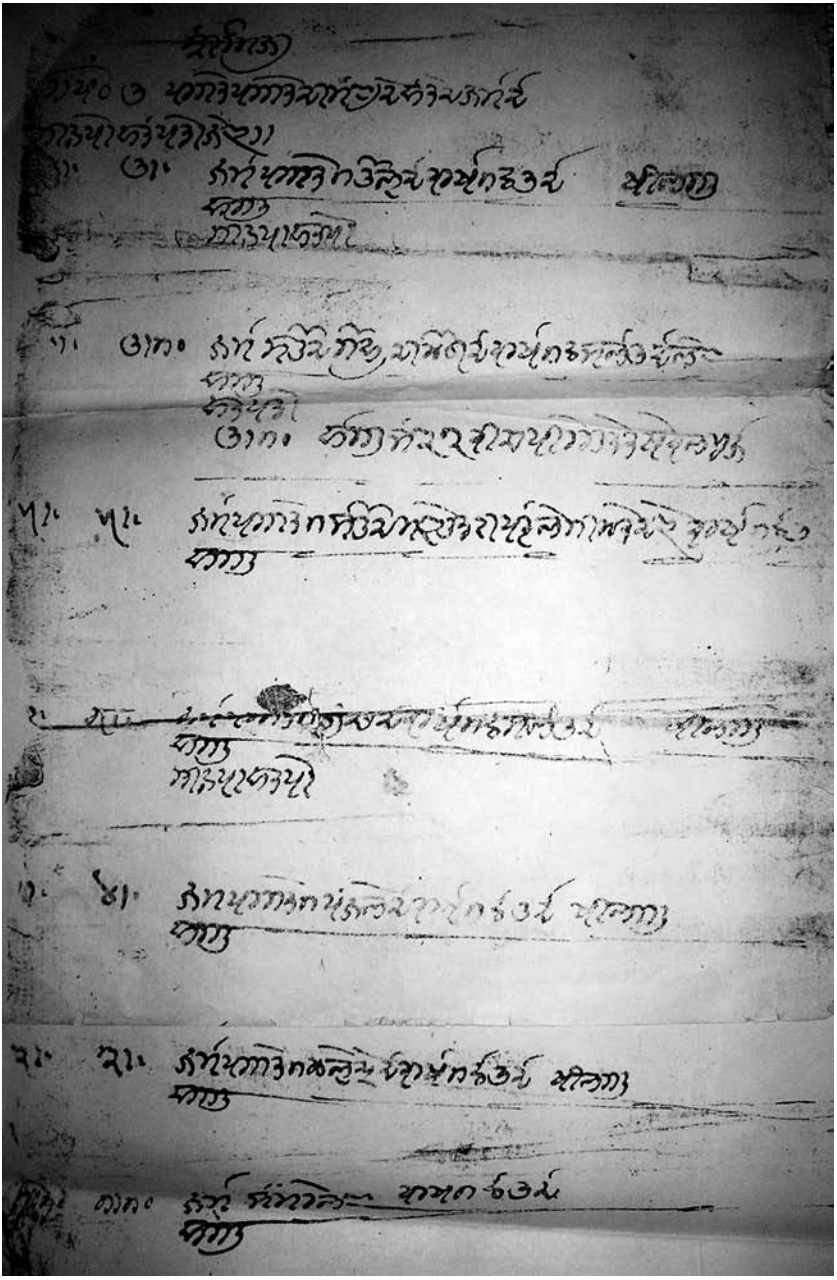


Figure 4.II.4 Details of the grain, ghee and goats received, 1857 CE

parganā Tol. *Khilgat*[40]
Received
gihüṅd or gihüp

2/10 to receive 2 *peḍā* and 10 *maṇa* from the second crop of parganā Gojh dī Koṭhī.
Received
2 *peḍā* and 10 *maṇa* received by Pīr Ratna Nāth.

Gallā (crop-share of revenue) in *peḍā-māṇī-seer Rokā* at the rate of (Rs)

Māśa (black gram)	24—11—0	2—0—0
Tila (Sesame)	22—2—0	2—0—0
Ghee (Clarified butter)	0—21—2	2—0—0
Makhīr (Honey)	0—22—2½	2—0—0
Miṭṭhā Dhūp (Incense)	0—2—3	2—0—0
Namaka (Salt)	0—2—10	2—0—0

Dated 16–10–Samvat 2011, Manager, *Register of Complaints and Receipts (Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa)*, Entry No. 57.

Similarly, Śiva Rāma, a tenant of the *Muāfī* grant to the portal of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa, on the basis of crop sharing arrangement, paid the following amount in Samvat 2011 on the occasion of the festival of *Sair*:

Dhāna (Paddy)	112 *Druṇa* 12 *Path*	2—0—0
Māśa (black gram)	112 *Druṇa* 1¼ *Māṇī*	2—0—0
Ghee	3 *Seer*	2—0—0

Dated 16–8–Samvat 2011, Manager, *Register of Complaints and Receipts (Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa)*, Entry No. 56.

[40] The earliest reference to the *khila* or fallow land being a part of the land grant is the "Kulait Copper Plate Inscription of Soma Varman" issued in his seventh reignal year (c. 1067 CE) to a Brāhmaṇa of the *Vājasaneyas śākhā* in the parganā of Trehṭā (Trighaṭaka). *Antiquities*, I, insp. no. 24, pp. 185–87; J. N. Agrawal calls them the "follower of the school of the Vājasneyas," IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 39, p. 205. The fallow land given in this grant along with pasture and irrigated land is indicative of crop rotation bi-annually or annually. From the above grant it is evident that of the two harvests, only one was paid for and the land was kept fallow for the second, perhaps to reclaim fertility; or it being dependent on rain water, could not be harvested in other seasons. Since all the entries do not have *khilgat*, that is they were kept fallow for one crop, this means that the state permitted some parganās or the individual plots to keep them fallow.

Also, the "Chambā Copper Plate Inscription of Soma Varman and Āsaṭa" issued in his eleventh year to the temples of Harī Rāi and Camāsnī, grants land along with pastures, kitchen-gardens, grazing grounds, the "fallow land large and small" (*khilö-upa-khilaṃ*), *Antiquities*, II. Agrawal translates this as "fallow and semi-fallow land," insp. no. 40, IHHPPKAHT, p. 214. Such a grant was also made to one Brāhmaṇa Macā in c.1105 CE in the parganā of Bhaṭṭārā by Āsata Deva, "Thundhu Copper Plate Inscription of Asata," *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 26, pp. 199–202; insp. no. 42, IHHPPKAHT, pp. 219–23. In the "Chambā Plate of Pratapsimha Time, VS 1636," issued in 1579 CE, a grant was made inclusive of uncultivated land "*khila khetra samuta,*" *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 4, pp. 28–30. *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 23, pp. 63–70. *Khilī* is also used in the "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra, VS 1693," *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 63, p. 135.

5/0 to receive 5 *peḍā* from Parganā Sāho to be given with those of Tārā.
Received

6/0 to receive 6 *peḍā* from the second crop of parganā Jūṅḍa. *Khilgat*
Received
gihüṅd or gihüp and grains

4/0 to receive 4 *peḍā* from the second crop of parganā Panjāḷā. *Khilgat*
Received

3/0 to receive 3 *peḍā* from the second harvest of parganā Kalandara. *Khilgat*
Received

1/10 to receive 3 *peḍā* and 10 *maṇa* from the second harvest of parganā Samar.
Received

Document No. II.5
Grant 3: 1857 Collections

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Grant 3

The following is the account of the grains (wheat) and *gihüṅd or gihüp* in *peḍā* and goats to be received during the *Māṇī* of Charpaṭnāth in *Samvat* 33 (1857).

2/0 to receive 2 *peḍā* from parganā Guṇh.
Received

2/0 to receive 2 *peḍā* from parganā Lillah.
Received

4/0 to receive 4 *peḍā* from parganā Mehlā *Khilgat*
Received

5/0 to receive 5 *peḍā* from parganā Bassu *Khilgat*
Received

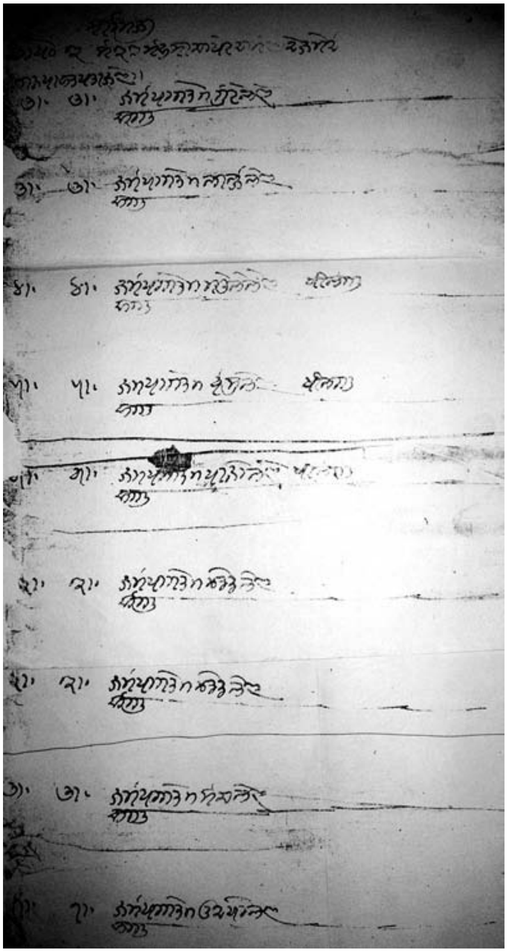


Figure 4.II.5 Grant 3: 1857 collection (in two sheets)

6/0 to receive 6 *peḍā* from parganā Pihūr *Khilgat*
Received

3/0 to receive 3 *peḍā* from parganā Kaded *Khilgat*
Received

2/0 to receive 2 *peḍā* from parganā Sāc
Received

7/0 to receive 7 *peḍā* from parganā Udaipur
Received

Document No. II.6
Grant 4 of 1857

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Grant 4

The following is the account of the paddy and *cavaṇa* (grams or peas)[41] and *gihüp* or *gihüṅd* (*ghee*) in *peḍā* and goats to be received during the *Māṇī* of Charpaṭnāth in *Samvat* 33 (1857).

3/0 to receive 3 *peḍā* from parganā Rāipur.
Received
1 *peḍā* each of *Gihüṅd* and paddy
Also received 1 Rupee and 8 *Ānnās* as *Rokā* for goats.

3/0 to receive 3 *peḍā* from parganā Nāngaḷī.
Received

8/0 to receive 8 *peḍā* from parganā Cuhan.
Received

1/0 to receive 1 *peḍā* from parganā Sihuṅṭā.
Received

1 *peḍā* each of *Gihüṅd* and paddy
Also received 8 Rupee as *Rokā* for goats.

5/0 to receive 5 *peḍā* from parganā Hubār.
Received

4/0 to receive 4 *peḍā* from parganā Khaṅḍūḍī.
Received

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[41] Grams, along with peas and wheat were cultivated in considerable quantity in the Churāh *wazārat*, as is evident from the inscription from the Loh-Ṭikarī parganā. "Mangaloa Plate of Partapsimha, Śastra 58," *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 25, p. 73.

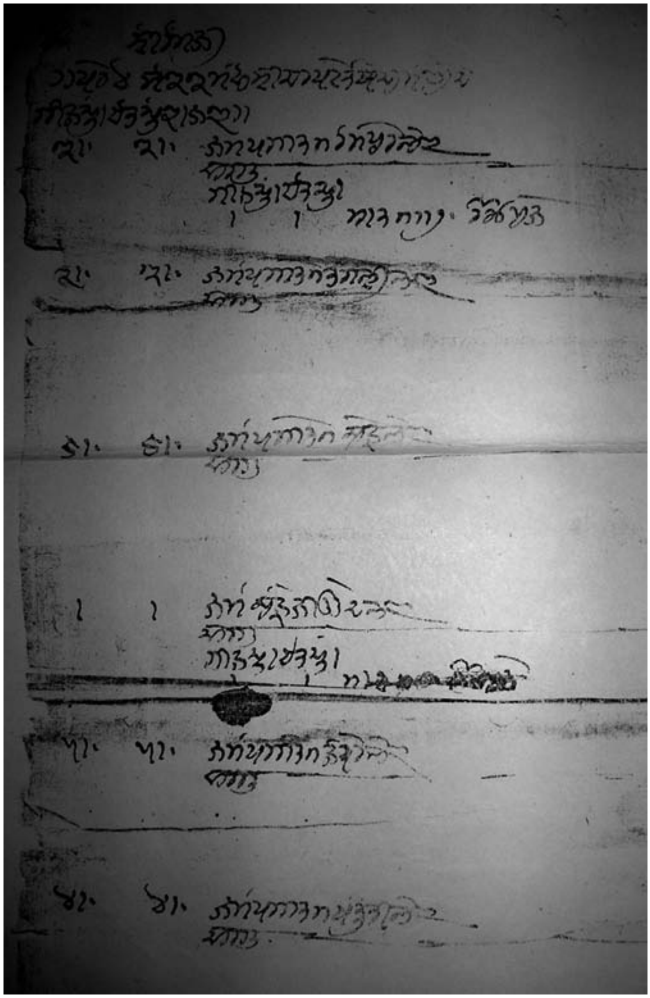


Figure 4.II.6 Grant 4 of 1857

4 Rupees to get from parganā Cuāri
Received

4 Rupees to get from parganā Rāipar
Received

1 Rupee to get from parganā Bhaṭṭī Ṭikarī
Received

Wheat 1 *peḍā*; Paddy 1 *peḍā*; received *Rokā* Rupees 1 and 12 *Ānnās*.

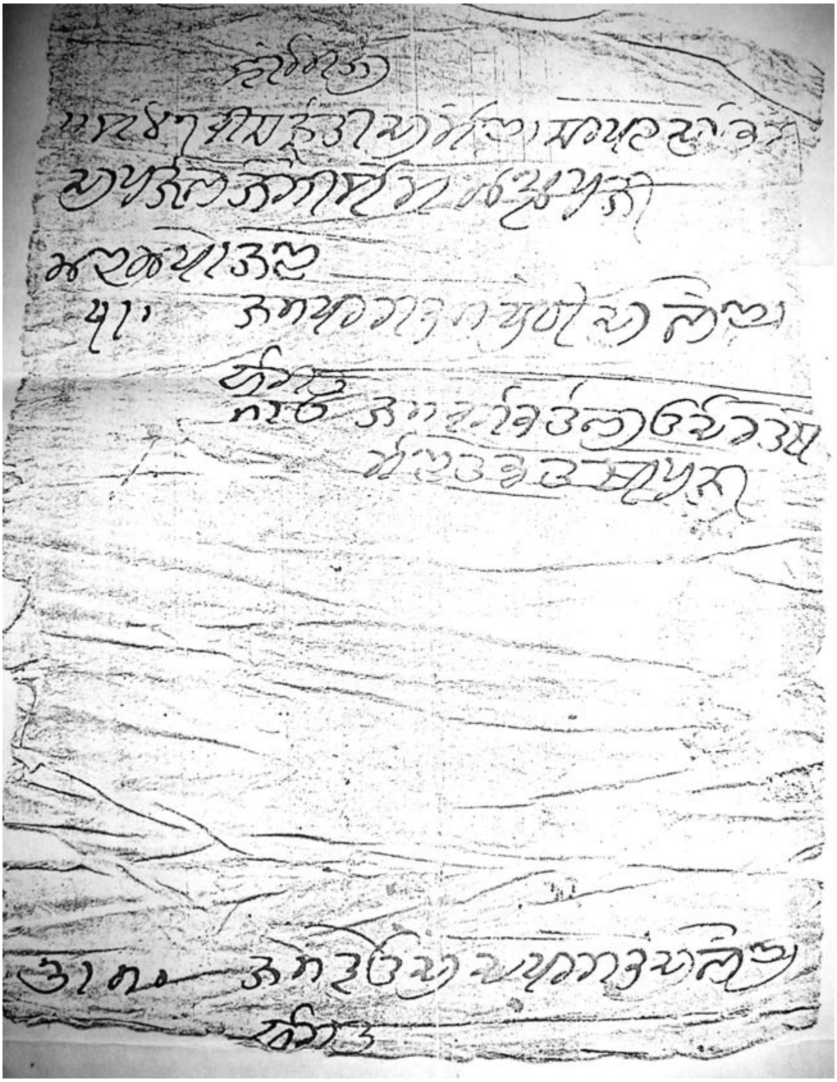


Figure 4.II.7 New-harvest collection, 1871 CE

Document No. II.7
The new-harvest collection, 1871 CE

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

The new harvest year of *Samvat* 47 (1871). The *dvāra*, portal, of Śrī Charpaṭnāth was filled. The priest (*pujiyāle*), Jogī Śyāmā, conducts the worship here (at Chambā shrine of Charpaṭnāth).

Wheat offered
7 *peḍā* to be received from the parganā of Ḍhunḍhī
Received

1/9 one *peḍā* and nine *maṇa* from Bangarū.
Received through the hands of Haḷī Udara and Manhada.

2/10 two *peḍā* and ten *maṇa* from the parganā of Trehṭa.

Document No. II.8
Receipts from individuals, 1940 CE

The documents addressed to the officials of the parganās, particularly those presented in section III, commanding them to provide men to carry grains, collected during the Joga-Jātrā ceremonials in their respective parganās, to the shrine of Charpaṭ in Chambā. These collections were given either by the Jogīs, who were associated with and recognised by the Mahant of the shrine of Charpaṭ, or else, were made by other Siddha shrines (non-Jogī) that legitimated their claims in their hinterland by contributing to—and, therefore, being considered as an associate of—the shrine of Charpaṭ.

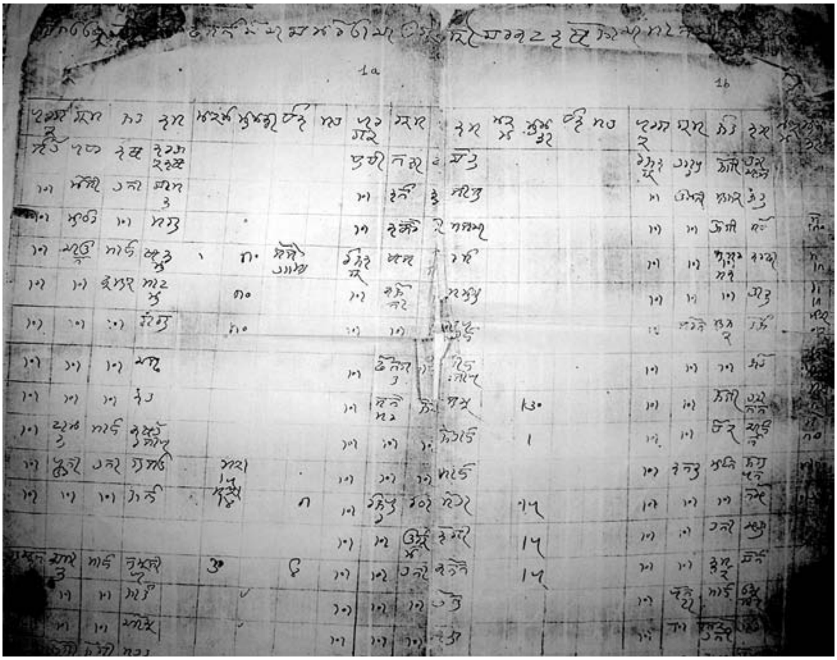


Figure 4.II.8 Receipts from individuals, 1940 CE (a sample sheet made by joining two sheets).

Translation

The receipt (*ugramhī*) of grains of the second harvest[42] of the year (*varṣa ika fasala dau dī ugrāhī*) of *Samvat* 1997 (1940) on *Cakaroī* (colloquial of

[42] This was probably the standard practice where people were under obligation to pay a cess in each of the two harvests cultivated in a year to provide the fixed amount in food grains and other consumable products like ghee, salt, etc. Such a cess was intended towards the maintenance of the shrine, the conduct of *pūjā*-worship, as well as the victuals, which were to be enjoyed by the functionaries—the Jogīs in this case. We have an interesting insight to this effect from the portal of Rājā Rāj Singh, in whose honour a shrine was erected at Nerṭī, in the parganā of Rilhū, where he laid down his life fighting against the forces of Kāngrā in 1794 CE. According to the grant issued by his son Jīt Singh (1794–1808 AD), "His maintenance and the expense on the victuals at the *dehrā* (portal) are to be borne of the area this side (towards Chambā) of the parganā of Rilhū. On both harvests the people of the parganā are to make a contribution towards (the maintenance of) the *dehrā* of Śrī Rāj Singh, and for pūjā…His (the priest's) expenses are to be met. At each harvest…*seers* of rice, two *seers* of salt, one *seer* of ghee, and…are to be offered at the *dehrā* of Śrī Rājā Rāj Singh. The *dehrā* as also the five *ghumāoṅs* (which came to a little over seven acres in 1847) of land (attached to it) are to be in your care….," B. N. Goswamy, "Documents from Three Pahari Temples," A. Ray, H. Sanyal, S. C. Ray, ed. Indian *Studies: Essays Presented in Memory of Prof. Niharranjan Ray*, Delhi, n.d., pp. 251–53. It must be noted that so far no land associated with Charpaṭnāth as a part of the maintenance grant has been reported.

Cakarotā rent).[43] This has been written on the basis of previous receipts, as prerequisite, of Charpaṭnāth (*Charpaṭe jo je miladī se likhī*).

Note: All grains are in terms of their weight, as: *Maṇa* and *Seer* denoted by M and S respectively.

Parganā	*Village*	*Caste*	*Name*	*Wheat*	*Maize*	*Paddy*[44]	*Dāl-Māśa*
Sāho	Padhar	Nāth	Narjan				
-do-	Kaunsi	Haḷī	Cimru				
-do-	Kuṭhār	-do-	Maggu				
-do-	Dūnaḷā	Miān	Kharku	1M	10M	100S	2.5M
-do-	-do-	Brāhmaṇa	Mitku		10M		
-do-	-do-	-do-	Gangu		10M		
-do-	-do-	-do-	Dāsa				
-do-	-do-	-do-	Nant				
-do-	Ṭikrū	Miān	Bakhtaur Singh		15M		
-do-	Paliūr	Haḷī	Gusāun		14M		1M
-do-	-do-	-do-	Jaila				

[43] Rent paid in lump sum, whether in lump sum of money or in lump sum of grain, *First Regular Settlement of Chambā District 1951–58*, a report, 1966, p. 63.

[44] Paddy or rice was a luxury in Chambā where the staple crop was wheat, maize and barley. Good quality rice was not grown much in Chambā, also due to the low water table in rugged mountainous terrain. Wild rice called *cheeṇā* was grown in the areas of Bhramaur.

Earlier, land grants were particularly made to grant wet land for the paddy cultivation, perhaps for its ritual and diet-status purposes. For example, in the "Bhramaur Copper Plate Inscription of Yugākāra Varman," a particular mention is made that of the total land granted, "one *pīṭaka* of rice is given from the *vāpeya* (or irrigated land) land" (*vāpeyā–ye-dhāna piṭakam eka dāttam*) vs. 8, 9, IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 29, pp. 177, 179. In the "Chambā Grant of Ananda Varman," plots where paddy seed is to be sown in *pīṭakas*, like 54, 9, etc. are given to the Brāhmaṇas at the completion of the *Ekādaśī* fast, IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 75, pp. 290–3. The control over the rice growing areas was also the bone of contention between the pre-colonial states of Chambā and Kāngrā, particularly the parganā of Paṭhiār, which yielded the revenue worth 380,000 *dams* or Rs. 9,500 in 1728–29 CE, or Carī and Rilhū, CBSMC, C-7, C-9, C-16, pp. 66–8, C-59, p. 73. When the fort of Rilhū was handed over to Mahārājā Ranjit Singh by the Chambā ruler Charhat Singh in lieu of Bhadarvāh, which yielded annual revenue of Rs. 3000 in 1821 CE, "a village in Rilhū of the value of Rs. 1000 is also conferred on Rājā Charhat Singh for the sake of the rice," CBSMC, C-59, pp. 73–4. According to the CDG, the name of the village was Ranitad, p. 104. The irrigation was mostly done by the gravity flowing irrigation-ducts called kuhls, which are extant even today, managed by the community using it, the rights to this effect were given by the erstwhile kings. Typical Kuhls are in the *Pālam* area of Kāngrā district, facilitating the paddy cultivation. For details, see, J. Mark Baker, *The Kuhls of Kāngrā: Community-Managed Irrigation in the Western Himalaya*, Seattle, 2005; for the management, J. Mark Baker, "Common Property Resource Theory and the Kuhl irrigation systems of Himachal Pradesh, India," *Human Organization*, Summer 1997; 56, 2, pp. 199–208.

Table (*cont.*)

Parganā	*Village*	*Caste*	*Name*	*Wheat*	*Maize*	*Paddy*[44]	*Dāl-Māśa*
Guḍiāḷā	Caminū	Miān	Luddar Singh		20M		4M
-do-	-do-	-do-	Jīta			10M	
-do-	-do-	-do-	Damidar			10M	
-do-	Jogī	Jogī	Mahant				
Ḍhunḍhī	Lāharī	Brāhmaṇa	Caitu				
-do-	Nālā	Haḷī	Sisu				
-do-	Nasere	-do-	Mussadi				
Rājnagar	Khās	Raṭhī	Rāma				
-do-	Bajaulī	Miān	Makundu				
-do-	-do-	-do-	Prithiā				
-do-	Ḍholghāt	-do-	Hariā Singh				
-do-	Śalimāra	Haḷī	Sunder				
-do-	-do-	-do-	Jotiyā		20M		
-do-	-do-	-do-	Makhan		1M		
-do-	Rājpur	Raṭhī	Motī		5M		
-do-	-do-	Ugraka	Negī		5M		
-do-	-do-	Haḷī	Baloḷa		5M		
-do-	-do-	-do-	Helū				
-do-	-do-	-do-	Bojjū				
-do-	-do-	-do-	—				
-do-	Harīpur	Jogī	Harī Dyāl				
-do-	Ukālī	Mahājana	Jassu				
-do-	-do-	Jogī	Mādho		1M 10S		
-do-	-do-	Muslim	Barfī		1M		
-do-	-do-	-do-	Hīrū		1M		
-do-	Saraul	Mahājan	Tejjā		3M		10S
-do-	-do-	-do-	Jyotī		3M		
-do-	-do-	Jogī	Harī Lāl		1M		
-do-	-do-	Dhaun	Diyālā		10S		
-do-	Nalerū	Kuṭhiyālā	Jai Gopāl		1M 10S		
-do-	-do-	-do-	Lacho		20M		
-do-	-do-	Haḷī	Dhajju				
-do-	-do-	Ḍūmaṇā	Celā				
-do-	Dholṭī	Miān	Uday Singh		10S		
-do-	-do-	Śasne Haḷī	Hīrā		5M		
-do-	-do-	Brāhmaṇa	Gokal				
-do-	-do-	-do-	Son-in-law of Rijhū				
-do-	-do-	-do-	Dhinjā				
-do-	-do-	-do-	Jagiru				

Table (*cont.*)

Parganā	*Village*	*Caste*	*Name*	*Wheat*	*Maize*	*Paddy*[44]	*Dāl-Māśa*
-do-	-do-	Gharāṭī	Arjan				
-do-	-do-	Jogī	Gigga				
-do-	-do-	-do-	Nāth				
Guḍiāḷā	Laṇjī	-do-	Bajirū				
-do-	Dhamerī	-do-	Dhusū				
-do-	Sela	-do-	Devī Dāsa				
-do-	Baraur	Haḷī Guarḍī	Polā				
-do-	Barūḍī	-do-	Moti				
-do-	Pāra	-do-	Mansā				
-do-	Barūḍī	-do-	Mussadī				
-do-	Chabrū	-do-	Parmā				
-do-	Candraulī	-do-	Teggā				
-do-	-do-	-do-	Nephew of Teggā				
Panjāḷā	Nakhlī	Brāhmaṇa	Sihuṇū				
-do-	-do-	Sippī	Celā				
-do-	-do-	Jabdhi	Ghiṭo		14M		
-do-	-do-	Joren	Sunki				
-do-	Banḍārakā	Jogī	Ridho		10S		
-do-	-do-	-do-	Rijhū		5S		
-do-	-do-	-do-	Lakhū		5S		
-do-	Śitāparī	-do-	Lacho		5S		
-do-	-do-	-do-	Jaggū		5S		
-do-	-do-	-do-	Ghaggo		5S		
-do-	-do-	Labour	Sunder				
-do-	-do-	-do-	Santu		5S		
-do-	-do-	Jāt	Śrīdhara				1S
-do-	-do-	-do-	Maheśa		15S		
-do-	Ripū	Baḍuco	Charat		5S		
-do-	-do-	-do-	Raghū		20S		1M 2S
-do-	-do-	Kumhār	Rummī		20S		1M 1S
-do-	-do-	-do-	Santu		20S		1M 1S
-do-	-do-	-do-	Huśiārā		5S		1M 1S
-do-	-do-	-do-	Ijjhū		10S		
-do-	-do-	Raṭhī	Harī Rām		10S		1M 1S
-do-	-do-	Mahājan	—		10S		1M 1S
-do-	-do-	Lohār	—		10S		1M 1S
-do-	Dholṭī Nāḷā	Miān	Tejjā		10M		
-do-	-do-	-do-	Amar Singh		10M		
-do-	Üār	Suniyār	Mocaṇu		1M	1M	

Table (*cont.*)

Parganā	*Village*	*Caste*	*Name*	*Wheat*	*Maize*	*Paddy*[44]	*Dāl-Māśa*
-do-	-do-	Kumhār	—		15S	1M	
-do-	-do-	Dasālī	—		10M 1S		
-do-	-do-	-do-	—		10M 1S		
Macho	Mangal	Raṭhī	Harī Singh			1M	
-do-	-do-	-do-	Śrīkanṭh				
-do-	-do-	-do-	Malū				
-do-	-do-	Miān	Piyār Singh				
-do-	-do-	Badachu	Jai Dyāl			1M	
-do-	-do-	Baḍhaī	Nanthū			1M	
-do-	-do-	Haḷī	—				
-do-	-do-	Khasder	—				
-do-	-do-	-do-	—				

4.III
Charpaṭ: Maṇimaheśa Pilgrimage and Joga-Jātrā

The documents in this section narrate the process by which the state facilitated Charpaṭ in making the annual Maṇimaheśa pilgrimage and the Joga-Jātrā celebrations. They also provide information about resource mobilisation and peoples' participation, which is an index of the popularity of Charpaṭ. Obliquely, we get a picture of the ritual practices that were popular in the hills.

Even though Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa was the 'sovereign deity' of Chambā, Charpaṭ was honoured with the royal prerogatives (as also other major sanskritic deities): a palanquin (*sukh-pāla*),[45] *cāmara* or whisk, a banner (signifying the sovereignty of the spiritual realm), parasol or the *chatara*, and *nakkārā* or drum. Thus, the procession of Charpaṭ setting out on a pilgrimage to the Maṇimaheśa lake was like a royal spectacle, heralded by the drummers; the analogy may be extended to the 'Hindu' marriage procession, where such symbolic prerogatives were extended.

The procession of Charpaṭ followed the high mountainous route to Maṇimaheśa and the documents exhort all of the officials through

[45] The palanquin or a litter was carried by four people and was covered from all side. The *Sukh-pāla* was a similar carriage that had a canopy at the top but was open in the sides for the people to see. The palanquins were for women and the *Sukh-pāla* for men. The king, and in this case Charpaṭ used the *Sukh-pāla* and not a palanquin.

whose jurisdiction the procession party would pass, to facilitate them and to make provision for the people to pay their obeisance, represented by the official notion of *dāk-chaukī*. *Dāk*, or literally the post(age) and *chaukī*, a seat (literally, one with four-corners), was collected at the beginning and deposited at the termination of the jurisdiction. This, however, would mean that a certain payment in deference was made by the officials, both to welcome the deity to their territorial jurisdiction as well as at the time of departure. A similar administrative term, Jogī-Guardī, was also used for the visitation of Charpaṭ on his return. The term literally comes from 'Guard', the one who secures. Both these terms are an oblique pointer to the pervasiveness of the colonial institutions and their penetration into the daily lives, such that they became the defining concepts for earlier practices.[46] Therefore, the Jogī-Guardī was a type of a tribute, offered in return for the protection provided. The protection was obviously from the malevolent forces which included natural elements—famine, drought, floods, avalanches, etc. This is a reminder that the Siddhas became popular among the South Asian agrarian population because of the powers they professed of controlling, among other things, the 'elements' of nature. Since the contact between the people and icon involved some material offerings (in kind), made over to Charpaṭ, the officials provided men for porterage (*maṇī*, literally 'weight'). By the end of the century these, however, were the facilities extended by the state for which Charpaṭ was charged. As the state undergoes transformation, becoming subservient to the British colonial agents, though classified as an autonomous 'princely-state', the relationship with the spiritual constituents also changed.

There were four types of ritual offerings that people generally made: *Balī, Bhagat, Kuṭheḍū*, and *Barāsodha*. The *balī* was an offering of goats/sheep for the sacrifice. This was particularly associated with the *rite-de-passage*, or for thanks-giving, and the entire population was not obligated to offer *balī* every year. The *bhagat* (literally, chanting) was

[46] Both the 'postal' and 'forest' regimes were popularised by the colonial agency in the hills. While the post-offices were the nodal centres, sprinkled far and wide, transmitting not only information (letters) but also goods, the forest regime improved upon and regulated the indigenous system. As the villages and forests in the hills merged into each other, without the regulated boundaries, the role of forest department was critical to the lives of people. The most popular, and the symbol of power, was the lowest official, the Guard. Not only the folksongs in the hills refer to the pivotal role played by the Guard, but as is evident from the documents, the concept was extended to other realms as well.

a particular ritual offering to Śiva (Dhūḍu, from *Dhūrjaṭī* or the one who is smeared in ash) called *Nawāḷā*. The *Nawāḷā* chanting begins by reiterating the pivotal role played by the Siddhas, who came from the southern direction, in entrenching Śaivism in the hills. The *Nawāḷā* ceremony terminated with a sacrifice of a ram. Again, the *Nawāḷā* was offered as a thanksgiving, for the purpose of purification, etc.; the entire population did not offer it every year. The *kuṭheḍū* was the popular daily ritualistic offering of incense etc. This was the collection made in kind and cash to provide the 'object of ritual' by all the households. The *barāsodha* was the annuity offered in kind, firming up the tributary relationship between the 'subjects' (worshippers) and the 'authority', that protected them. The state also made provisions for the people forming the part of the pilgrimage procession. On reaching Brahmapurā, the early capital of the state, a *bhanḍārā*-feast was offered to all in the honour of Charpaṭ.

The pilgrim's perspective

While the documents are about the pilgrimage of Charpaṭ to the Maṇimaheśa-lake and how it was facilitated by the state, we need to keep in perspective the 'mood' of people as well—how they moved from one place to another, taking a bath in a Gauri *kunḍa* or Bharmāṇī *kunḍa*, purifying themselves in preparation for the final dip at Maṇimaheśa *ḍaḷa*. It was also an occasion when they 'caught' a glimpse of their futures, the oracles making prophetic statements when in trance. While renewing their brush with the sacred, the people did not forget to transact their business in the background. The Gaddīs had wool to sell; there were goats to be purchased for sacrifice; salt was a precious commodity to be negotiated; and the pilgrims did not forget to collect herbs that grew in the wilderness at this altitude. Let us, however, peep into the pilgrims mind through the 'diary' of one such traveller, who penned her encounter, aptly calling it "*Between Worlds*." The travelogue, written in 2003 from the perspective of a 'believer', provides an insight into the myth-making process, establishing linkages with the wider Puranic literature, and of course, it catches the flavour of the local pilgrim-practices.[47]

[47] Uma Singh, *Between Worlds: Travels among mediums, shamans and healers*, Delhi, 2003, p. 54.

> The route to Mani Mahesh is an arduous one, with places like Bhaironghatti and Bandargahtti particularly difficult to negotiate. Bhaironghatti, legend has it, is so named as it is here Bhairon stood guard while Shiva practised his austerities and did penance in concentrated solitude at the sacred lake. After the holy dip, it is a mandatory practice for pilgrims to bring back *gugi* and *ban*,[48] two auspicious medicinal herbs. Singing of hymns in praise of Shiva marks the entire journey. Trance mediums are sought after to make predictions and prophesies during the difficult pilgrimage. On the evening preceding Radha Ashtmi, before entering a collective trance possession, the mediums swim across the lake, claiming to 'walk' across the waters, the bottom of the lake rising to carry them. When they touch the other bank, devotees rush to touch them, considering it a blessing to do so and an indication that they have priority in putting questions to the mediums. Goats are sacrificed, or coconuts offered to the oracles.

The performance of Nawāḷā:

Nawāḷā could be described as the foremost of the 'native' ceremonials to Dhūḍu. The term 'Native' is used here advisedly, to distinguish the population from the sanskritic rituals and ritual-performers. It was performed generally by the Sippi oracle/shaman-celās,[49] and in the Chambā town, by the Jogīs as well (who we know contested the rights to perform the ritual in the 1920s in Chambā, discussed in detail in 4.V). It was, to begin with, a Gaddī-shepherd's rite, that was performed by the nine clans (*als*), hence *Nawāḷā*. In modern times, however, it is performed by nine people; and the ritual specialists include a priest (invariably a Brāhmaṇa), an oracle and four singers, apart from a butcher, a cook and the performer (client, who performs the ritual with the help of the priest). The image of Dhūḍu, in his ascetic form, is made out of wheat-flour and is adorned with flowers. It is then seated before the *manḍala* where it is ritually offered oblations and sacrifice. The *manḍala* consists of eighty-four squares, each for a particular Siddha. To the west of the *manḍala* is a lone square in the honour of Charpaṭnāth. The performer (the client) sits to the east, facing Charpaṭī. The sacrifice is offered as soon as the oracle/shaman-celā goes into trance. It is while the celā is in trance that he makes prophetic statements; or answers questions

[48] An aromatic herb called the *Ban-ajwain, Thymus serphyllum*; also, another *ban-kakaḍi*, *Podophyllum emodii.*

[49] The celā acts like an oracle and prognosticates. He looks into the future and the past. On the other hand, the celā sometimes acts as a shaman, the one who cures, which an oracle does not.

that people may ask. After the ceremony is over, there is a night long-vigil in which people sing eulogies, the genre known as *aincalīs*. These *aincalīs* begin with an explanation of the *Nawāḷā* sacrifice-ritual and then go into other aspects of Siva's life.

As Charpaṭ is said to have introduced Śaivism in Chambā, people make an offering to the procession of Charpaṭ as he traverses their territory on the way to or from Maṇimaheśa. Consider the portion of *aincalī*, reproduced below, as a part of the offerings:[50]

> …come O Lord, come in the evening
> Come and be our guest tonight,
> We prepare your choicest food;
> We sacrifice in your name.
> O Lord! Let me repay your debt,
> Nine men give you the offerings of *Nawāḷā*,
> O Dhūḍu, let me repay your debt…
> With the flour we made your manḍala
> O Lord, accept our oblations…
> In heaven, Indra rules, my Lord,
> Who is the king on earth.
> Here Dhūḍu is the Lord of men…
> Dance, O Dhūḍu, dance with your locks swaying,
> Dance, O Dhūḍu, dance at Kailaśa…

Document No. III.1
Śrī Singh to Bhramaur Kāradārs

Transcription

Śrī Rāmajī

Oṃ Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahāraje Śrī Śrī Singhe brahma bacane wazīre hathe Gadheraṇe di tarfā de Kāradāre dī se age Śrī Charpaṭnāth Śrī Maṇimaheśe ji kī āiye tāṅ jihāṅ Sammat 42 vic baḷī bhagat dittī dī hoi tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī daiṇī dikhe aṭakade Sammat 43 Bhādro parviṣṭhe 6 likhiyā.

[50] Recorded in 1990, Bhāgal Rām, Village Ṭhanetar, Nayagrāma, Brahmaur.

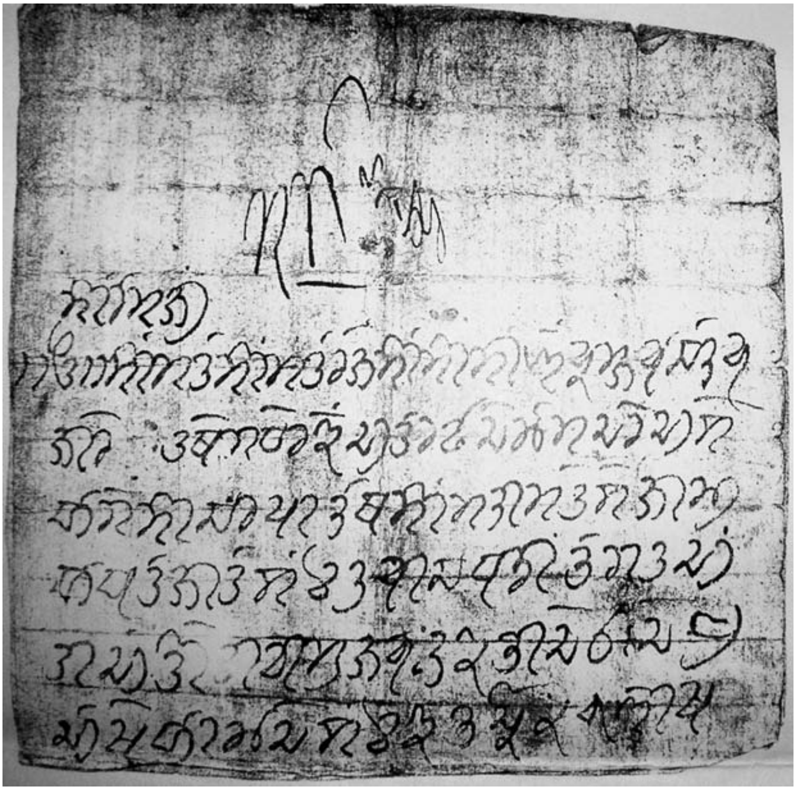


Figure 4.III.1 Śrī Singh to the Bhramaur Kāradārs, 1867 CE

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Oṃ. Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Śrī Singh, the beholder of truth, instructs through his wazīr the Kāradār[51] of Gadheraṇa that the *yātrā*-visitation

[51] Also used in this collection as *Kāmadārs*, literally the workers. Kāradārs officiated over the parganā administration from their headquarters called Koṭhī. *The Gazetteer of Chamba District, 1904*, informs that the administrative work was done by the *Chāras*, the most ancient official, also known in early inscriptions as *Cāṭa*. The revenue and accounting was done by the *Likhneharā* and *Baṭwāl* assisted both these officials. All these offices were 'collectively' known as Kāradār. Perhaps Kāradār functioned as a supervisor, in his capacity as the head of the parganā, with his chief function being to collect the revenue for the state. However, in the Churāh wazārat there was an official called *Oḍhrū*, who was superior to the *Kāradārs* in the parganās of Jhunḍa, Bhalaī,

of Śrī Charpaṭnāth to Maṇimaheśa is forthcoming. Therefore, a *bhagat* and sacrifice of the same enormity as in *Samvat* 42 should be given this year also. Beware that you do not fail [to carry out these orders diligently]. Written on 6 *parviṣṭhe, Bhādro, Samvat* 43 (1867 CE).

Document No. III.2
Gopal Singh to the parganā officials claiming dāk-chauki, 1872 CE

Transcription

Śrī Rāmajī

Sahī

Oṃ Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Gopāl Singhe brahma bacane wazīre Avtār Singhe hathe pargāne Mehle/Bakaṇī/Bassu/Pehure/Lillah/Guhūṇ/ Belaja/ Sāho de Kāmadārā di se age Śrī Charpaṭnāth Maṇimaheśa darsaṇe dī āī dhe tāṅ isakī apaṇe apaṇe pargāne de Jogī ānde jānde kī dāk chaukī daiṇe dikhyān pharak karde Sammat 1929 Bhādro parviṣṭe 14 likhayā.

Kohāl, Bhāndala and Kihāra. Similarly in the Bhaṭṭiyāt wazārat, there were officers *Oḍhrū* and *Amīn* who were superior to the Kāradārs in the parganā of Chun, Hubār and Chuārī. However, prior to 1863, the Kāradārs received *rakam* or grain and cash allowances, which were then abolished and cash salaries introduced, pp. 263–5, 271, 278. Since *The District Gazetteer of Kangra of 1883–84*, informs us that in the Sikh-administered Kāngrā, the Kāradārs were transferred periodically, mostly after three years in a particular parganā, though exceptions were made; p. 219. In the Pinḍorī documents, Kāradār is the same as *Amīl* and it is "his duty to see that the grantee received his share," B. N. Goswamy and J. S. Grewal, *The Mughals and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori*, Simla, 1968, p. 36. In Bhramaur too, there was a post under the Wazīr called *Amīn*, since abolished. The *Amīns* did not receive cash salary from the state, but were allowed to collect certain emoluments called *rakam* over and above the revenue demanded. However, one is not sure that the *Kāradār* was the same as *Amīn*, or was replaced by, or both were responsible for different functions. *The Gazetteer of Chamba District, 1904*, p. 265.

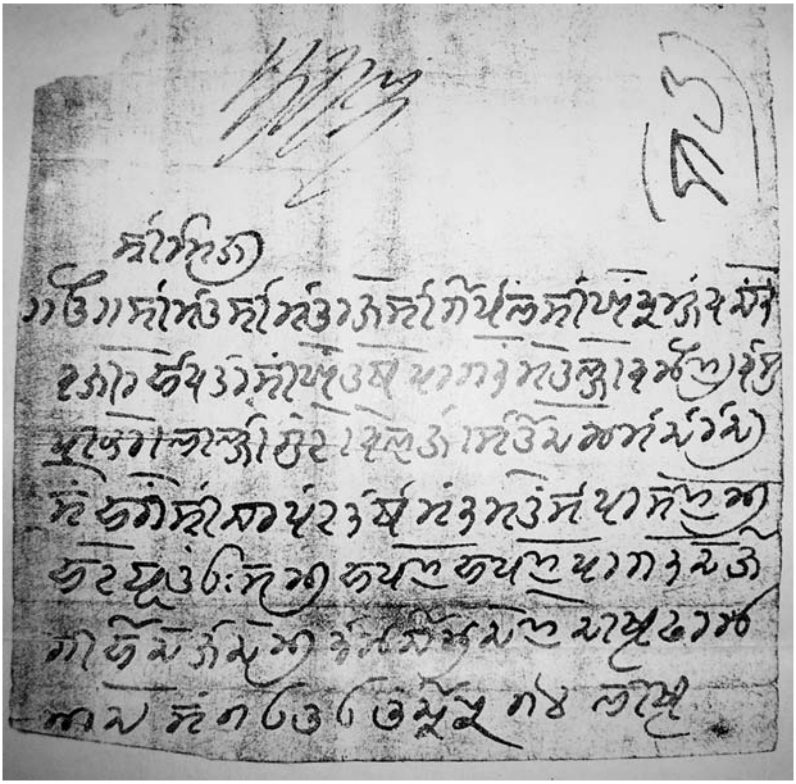


Figure 4.III.2 Gopal Singh to parganā officials claiming dāk-chauki, 1872 CE

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Attested as true

Oṃ. Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Gopal Singh, the beholder of truth, has instructed the Kāmadārs of parganā Mehlā, Bakaṇā, Bassū, Pihūra, Lillah, Gihun, Belaja and Sāho through the agency of his wazīr Avtar Singh. Further reminded that the [festivity] of Śrī Charpaṭnāth's visit to Maṇimaheśa is coming. Therefore, [the kāmadārs] shall deposit the *dāk-chaukī* on the ingress and egress of the Jogīs of their respective parganās. Let the Kāmadārs be warned that they do not discriminate. Orders passed on the 14th parviṣṭhe of *Bhādrapāda*, *Samvat* 1929 (1872 CE).

Document No. III.3
Gopāl Singh to kāmadārs of different parganā, 1872 CE

Transcription

Śrī Rāmajī

Sahī

Oṃ. Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Gopāl Singhe brahma bacane wazīre Avtār Singhe hathe pargāne Ranuh Koṭhī/Uḷhānsā/Grohḷā/Bharmaur/Trehṭe/Caṇhauṭe/Dëoḷe de Kāmadārā diseṅ age Śrī Charpaṭnāth Maṇimaheśa darsaṇe kī āīdhe tāṅ tusāṅ apaṇe apaṇe pargāne de ādamī dāk chauki ānde jānde kī deī deṇī pharak nā hoye Sammat 1929.

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Attested as true

Oṃ. Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Gopāl Singh, the beholder of truth, has instructed the Kāmadārs of parganā Ranuh Koṭhī, Ulhansā, Grohlā, Bhramaur, Trehṭā, Canhauṭā and Deol through the agency of his wazīr Avtār Singh. Further reminded that Śrī Charpaṭnāth shall be visiting Maṇimaheśa shortly. Therefore, [the Kāmadārs] shall supply men [to work, or for collection?] and deposit the *dāk-chaukī* of their respective parganās on the ingress and egress [of the banner of Charpaṭnāth]. Warned that the Kāmadārs do not discriminate. Orders passed in 1929 (1872 CE).

Document No. III.4
Dāk-chauki to Charpaṭ, 1873 CE

This document is issued by the Prime Minister (wazīr) and not the ruler. Gopal Singh abdicated in favour of his seven years old son, Sham Singh, who was installed by General Reynell Taylor, the Commissioner of Amritsar, in October 1873. Meanwhile, the Wazīr and the British Resident Col. Blair Reid exercised the powers of the ruler.

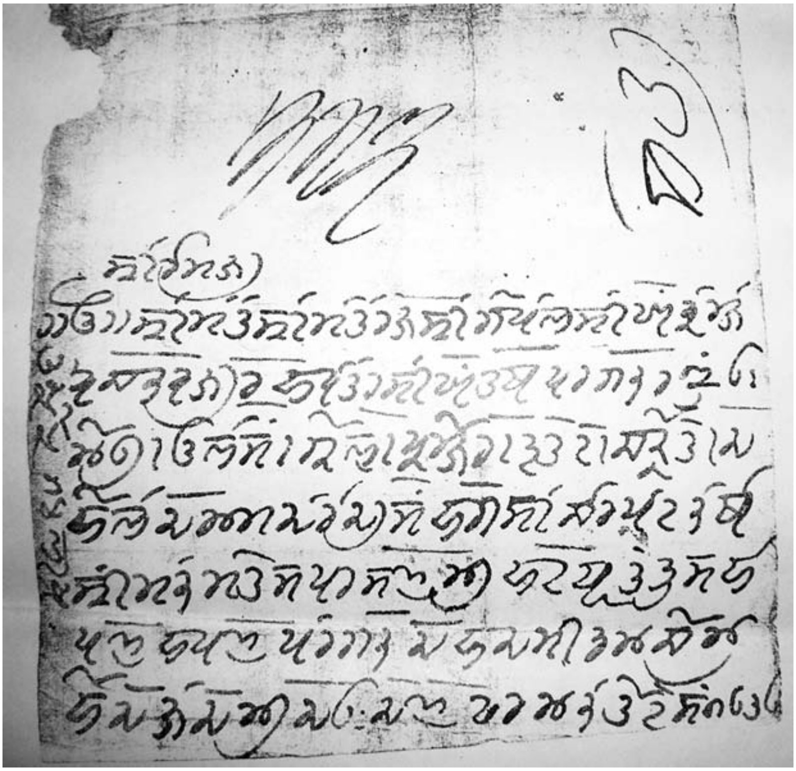


Figure 4.III.3 Gopāl Singh to kāmadārs of different parganās, 1872 CE

Transcription

Śrī Rāmajī

Sahī

Oṃ Curāhe dī tarfā de kārdārā ki wazīre Avtār Singhe Rāma Rāma sambhaḷīyā age Śrī Charpaṭnāth Churāhe dī tarfā āiye tāṅ jihāṅ Sammat 48-manjh dāk chauki dā ādamī kanne Charpaṭnāthe di Māṇī diṅde āiye se apaṇe apaṇe pargāne dī daī dainī aṭkaṇe nahiṅ pharak nā hoye Sammat 1930 Kātī parviṣṭhe 19 likhiyā.

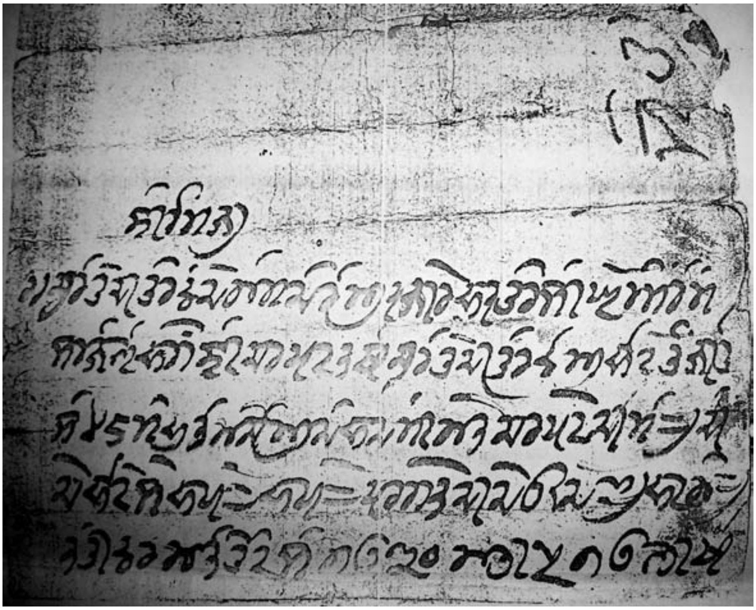


Figure 4.III.4 Dāk-chauki to Charpaṭ, 1873 CE

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Attested as true

Oṃ. The Kāradārs of Churāha are greeted (Rāma Rāma) by the Wazīr, Avtār Singh. He further instructs that when Śrī Charpaṭnāth shall visit [towards] Churāh, [the Kāradārs] should, as in *Samvat* 48, arrange for men for the dāk-chaukī and make provision for the collection of *māṇī* from their (the Kāradārs) respective parganās. See that you do not falter. Make sure you do not discriminate. Written on 19 *parviṣṭhe, Kātī*, *Samvat* 1930 (1873 CE).

Document No. III.5
Miāṅ Gaiṇḍā to the Kāmadāras of Gadheraṇa, 1878 CE

This document is unusual because it has been issued by three people and not the ruler of Chambā. Wazīr Avtār Singh was retired and it seems that after him this triumvirate constituted the supreme authority. Govind Chand, one of the triumvirates, who later became the wazīr, occupied



Figure 4.III.5 Miāṅ Gaiṇḍā to the Kāmadāras of Gadheraṇa, 1878 CE

an important position of Munsiff. The language of this document is also terse and minimal. It states, with a sense of priority, that Charpaṭ should somehow reach Maṇimaheśa. In that sense, some desperation is discernable, that the pilgrimage should somehow be performed.

Transcription

Signed: Gaiṇḍā

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Omkār.

Miāṅ Gaiṇḍā/Munśī Govind/Miāṅ Bīrbhadre dā Gadheraṇe dī tarfā de kāmadārā kī aihe je Śrī Charpaṭnāth Śrī Maṇimaheśe darśaṇe kī āyā tān jihāṅ piche laī Jogī kī madad dinde āiye tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī Jogī kaccha dhāṇī karī Śrī Charpaṭnāth Śrī Maṇimaheśe pujāyī daiṇā Sammat 1935 S. 54 Bhādro parviṣṭhe 11.

Translation

Signed in Ṭākarī: *Gaiṇḍā*

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Oṃ. Miāṅ Gaiṇḍā along with Munśī Govind and Miāṅ instruct the Kāmadāras of Gadheraṇa that when Śrī Charpaṭnāth shall visit to sight (*darśaṇa*) Śrī Maṇimaheśa you should, as in the previous years, facilitate the pilgrimage such that Śrī Charpaṭnāth reaches Śrī Maṇimaheśa. Written on 11 *Bhādon, Samvat* 1935, local era 54 (1878 CE).

Document No. III.6
Magistrate Ram to Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa, 1888 CE

Even though Sham Singh assumed the power of the state in 1885, the document is issued by the Magistrate. No documents were, in fact, issued by Sham Singh in his capacity as the ruler of Chambā, unlike his successors or predecessors. One reason may be that it was a subtle way of showing deference to his father, Gopal Singh, who was forced to abdicate in his favour. Gopal Singh died in 1895. Second, he wanted to be seen as working towards the administration as defined by the colonial resident, conscious of the 'fate' of his father. Therefore, he was busy with his various administrative assignments, such as convening the 'postal convention' in 1887 that brought the state into direct relations with the Imperial postal system; rebuilding the police system and building the Sham Singh hospital in 1891. The onus of looking into the logistics of Maṇimaheśa pilgrimage, it seems, was on the administrative staff, the Wazīr, as also earlier, or the Magistrate, as in this case. Alternatively, the office of the Magistrate was used to issue notices/orders to the administrative heads of the parganās, which made them legal and binding.

Transcription

Signed: Gangā Rāma

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Oṃ. Magistrate… (Gangā) Rāma jī dā Gadheraṇe de kāmadārā kī aihe je Śrī Maṇimaheśe jī ki Śrī Charpaṭnāthe jī dā jhanḍā hameśā ḍaḷe de nahauṇe kī aundā tāṅ tussān ki hukum hai je jihāṅ piche laī apaṇe lāke

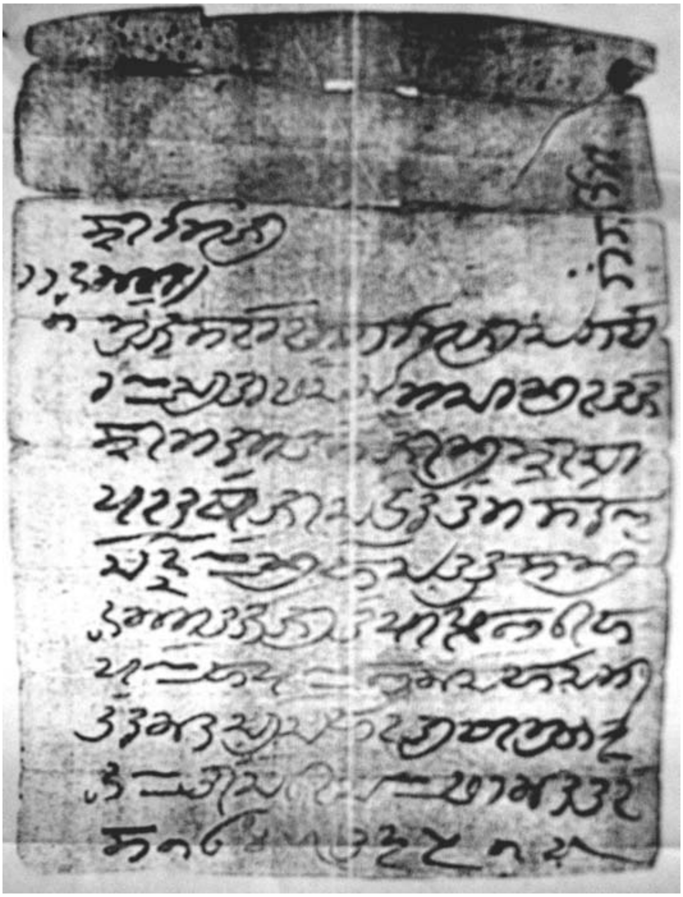


Figure 4.III.6 Magistrate Ram to Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa, 1888 CE

de ādamī jhanḍe kane dinde āiye tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī daiṇe farak nā hoye Sammat 1945 Bhādro parviṣṭhe 16.

Translation

Signed in Ṭākarī: Gangā Rāma

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Oṃ. The Magistrate, Gangā (?) Rāma, informs the Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa that, like always, the banner of Śrī Charpaṭnāth will visit the lake of Śrī Maṇimaheśa for the holy dip. He instructs them to

provide people (porters and labour) to the banner of Śrī Charpaṭnāth, as has been the practice in the previous years. See to it that there is no discrimination. Written on 16 *Bhādon, Samvat* 1945 (1888 CE).

Document No. III.7
Wazīr Govind Chand to Jogi Śyama, 1892 CE

Transcription

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Oṃ Wazīre Govind Chande jī dā Gadheraṇe dī tarfā de kārdārā kī aihe je Jogī Shyāmā Śrī Maṇimaheśe jī dā jhanḍā layī Śrī Śrī Maṇimaheśe ki āiyā tāṅ tussān ki hukum hai je jihāṅ piche laī Jogī jhanḍe kane ādamī dinde āiye tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī daiṇe kane majjūrī jihāṅ lainde āiye tiddhī mūjjab laī laiṇī Sammat 1949 Bhādro parviṣṭhe 7.

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Oṃ. Wazīr Govind Chand instructs the Kāradār of Gadheraṇa that when Jogī Shyāmā will visit Śrī Maṇimaheśa with the banner of Śrī Maṇimaheśa you should, as in the previous years, provide the same number of men to the Jogī banner workers. You should charge the same amount for labour as you have been charging in the previous years. Written on 7 *Bhādon, Samvat* 1949 (1892 CE).

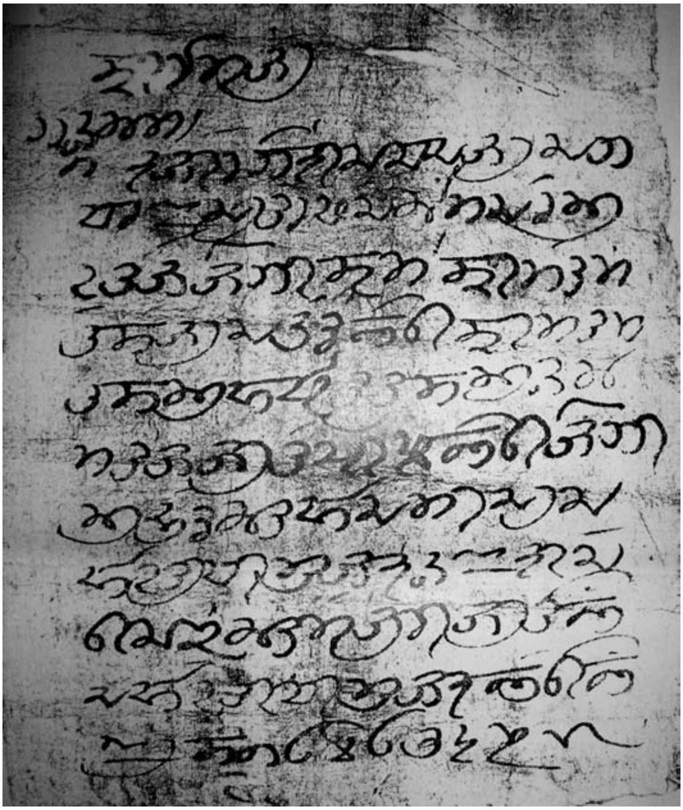


Figure 4.III.7 Wazīr Govind Chand to Jogi Śyama, 1892 CE

Document No. III.8
Kāradār of Gadheraṇa asked to provide labour, 1896 CE

Transcription

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Oṃ Wazīre Govind Chande jī dā Gadheraṇe dī tarfā de kārdārā kī aihe je Śrī Maṇimaheśe jī dā nahauṇ bāste Chambe kach Śrī Charpaṭe dā jhanḍā hameśā uppare kī jāndā se hukum hai jihāṅ piche laī appaṇe appaṇe illāqe de ādamī Jogī kane dinde āiye tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī daine je hisāb lainde se Jogī pāsse laī laiṇe Sammat 72 Bhādro parviṣṭhe 18.

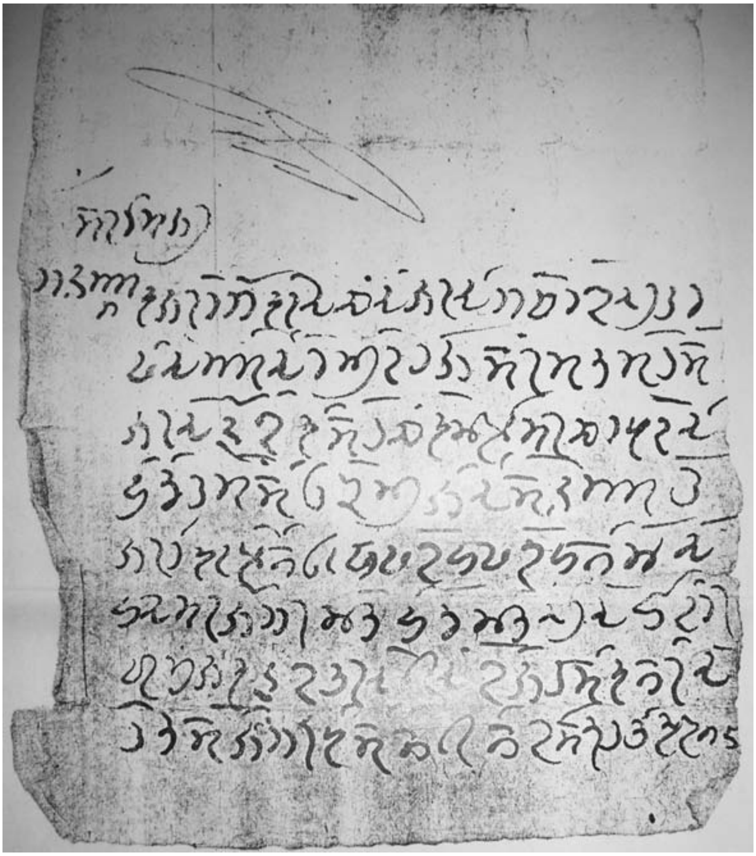


Figure 4.III.8 Kāradār of Gadheraṇa asked to provide labour, 1896 CE

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Oṃ. Wazīr Govind Chand reminds the Kāradār of Gadheraṇa that during the annual holy dip of Śrī Maṇimaheśa, the banner of Śrī Charpaṭnāth always follows the high [mountain] route from Chambā. You are, therefore, instructed that as in the previous years you have been providing workers (literally, men) from your jurisdiction (*illāquā*), this year too you should provide the same number [of workers]. Whatever

expenses you incur (literally, account) should be charged from the Jogī.[52] Written on 18 *parviṣṭhe, Bhādrapāda, Samvat* 72 (1896 CE).

Document No. III.9
Bhuri Singh to the Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa, 1899 CE

Transcription

Signed in English

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Śṛ Mi᾿ān Sāhib Bahādure Wazīre Bhūrī Singhe jī dā Gadheraṇe di tarfā de Kāmadārā ki aihe je Śrī Maṇimaheśe jī de nahoṇe bāste Śrī Charpaṭe dā jhanḍā hameśā ḍaḷe kī jāṅdā se hukum hai he jihān picche lai apaṇe apaṇe illāqe de ādamī jogī kanne dinde āye tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī daine je hisāb lainde hoṇ se jogī pāsse lai laiṇā Sammat 1956 Bhādro parviṣṭhe 16.

Translation

Signed in English

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Miān Sāhib Bahādur Wazīr Bhūrī Singh jī instructs the Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa that the banner of Śrī Charpaṭnāth shall arrive for the annual holy dip, as always, at the lake of Maṇimaheśa. You are, therefore, to provide the same number of workers (literally, men), from your respective jurisdiction (*illāquā*), to help the Jogī as you have been doing in the past. You should get whatever dues you have been taking in the past from the Jogī. Written on 16 *parviṣṭhe, Bhādro, Samvat* 1959 (1902 CE).

[52] Wages are to be paid by the Jogī for the services rendered. This fact is brought to light by the orders issued by Rājā Śyāma Singh only, after Vikramī Samvat 1949 or the year 1892 CE, and in previous documents no such mention is made.

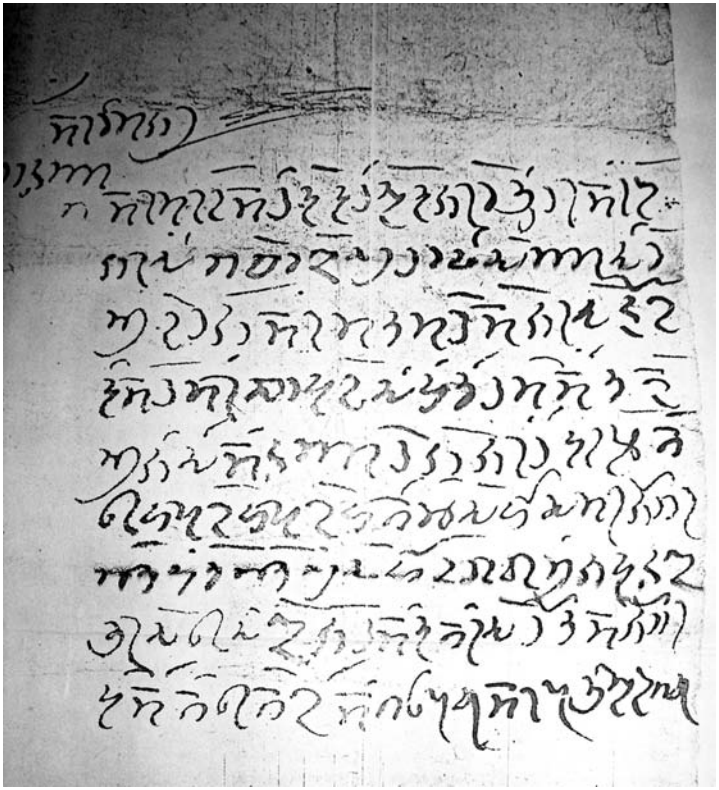


Figure 4.III.9 Bhuri Singh to the Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa, 1899 CE

Document No. III.10
Bhuri Singh to the Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa, 1902 CE

Transcription

Signed in English

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Oṃ Mi'ān Sāhib Bahādure Wazīre Bhūrī Singhe jī dā Gadheraṇe di tarfā de Kāmadārā ki aihe je Śrī Maṇimaheśe jī kī Śrī Charpaṭe dā jhanḍā hameśā ḍaḷe kī je nahauṇe kī aüṅdā tāṅ tusāṅ Kāmadārān kī hukum hai je jihān sammat 77 vic apaṇe apaṇe illāqe de ādamī jhanḍe kane dinde āye tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī daine farak nā hoye Sammat 1959 Bhādro parviṣṭhe 13.

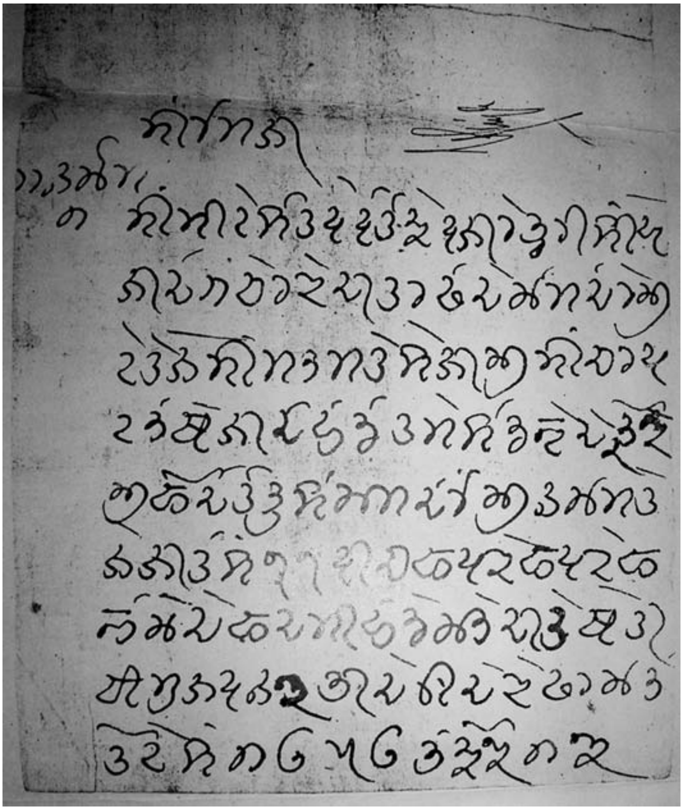


Figure 4.III.10 Bhuri Singh to the Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa, 1902 CE

Translation

Signed in English

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Oṃ. Miān Sāhib Bahādur Wazīr Bhūrī Singh jī reminds the Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa that the banner of Śrī Charpaṭnāth always participates in the annual holy dip at the lake of Maṇimaheśa. You Kāmadārs are, therefore, instructed to provide the same number of workers (literally, men) accompanying the banner from your respective jurisdiction (*illāquā*) as in Samvat year 77. See that the orders are obeyed in letter and spirit. Written on 13 *parviṣṭhe, Bhādro, Samvat* 1959 (1902 CE).

Document No. III.11
Pt. Narsingh asks the Kāmadārs of Bharmaur to assist Mādho Jogī, 1917 CE

Transcription

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Oṃ Paṇḍit Narsingh Dyāle jī dā Bharmaure de Kāmadārā kī aihe je Jogī Mādho assāṅ pāsse jabbānī reporṭ kittī je Sammat 1973 majha Śrī Charpaṭnāth jī kī ghanṭā 1 ika ghanṭā Rihāre caḍhāyā dā hai se Bhramaur dī Koṭhī Kāmadārā pāsse daī dittā dā hai se tussāṅ Kāmadārā kī hukam hai je Charpaṭnāthe kī ghanṭā ika Rihāre dā caḍhāyā dā hai aihi kane tussāṅ Koṭhī rakhayā dā hai tā Jogī Mādho… dainā je Maṇimaheśe jī kī caḍhāyā dā hai tāṅ Chambe Śrī Ṭhākurdwāre… kane ṭahāī bhaijaṇā Sammat 1974 Bhādro parviṣṭhe 17.

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Oṃ. Orders passed by Paṇḍit Narsingh Dyāl to the Kāmadārs of Bhramaur that Jogī Mādho has filed in a verbal complaint that in *Samvat* 1973 (1916 CE), 1, one bell[53] (*ghanṭā*) was offered to Śrī Charpaṭnāthjī at (or by) Riharā. This was handed over to the Kāmadār of the *Koṭhī* of Bhramaur. You, Kāmadārs, are ordered that the bell offered by (at) Riharā and kept by you at *Koṭhī* should be returned to Jogī Mādho… if it was offered to *Maṇimaheśa*… then arrangement should be made to send the same to the *Ṭhākurdvārā* at Chambā. Written on 17 *parviṣṭhe*, *Bhādro, Samvat* 1974 (1917 CE).

[53] Donating a bell (*ghanṭā*) was a pious act and not an uncommon or trivial offering. Usually a great expense was involved, and the bell itself was invaluable and, hence, could be appropriated for its metallic value, as it seems in the present complaint. That such donations were a part of the larger tradition of piety where people could participate effectively is evident from an inscription of the goddess Cāmuṅḍā, written in Śastra era 38, or Vikramī Samvat 1819 corresponding to the year 1762 CE, issued on Friday, 2 April. According to it, one Paṇḍit Vidyādhara made a gift of copper bell, which was cast by a coppersmith—Ghamanḍī, to the goddess, weighing 27 *seer* and costing 27 Rupees, on the occasion of *Mahāśṭamī*. B. Ch. Chhabra, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part II, Insp. No. 104, pp. 175–76.

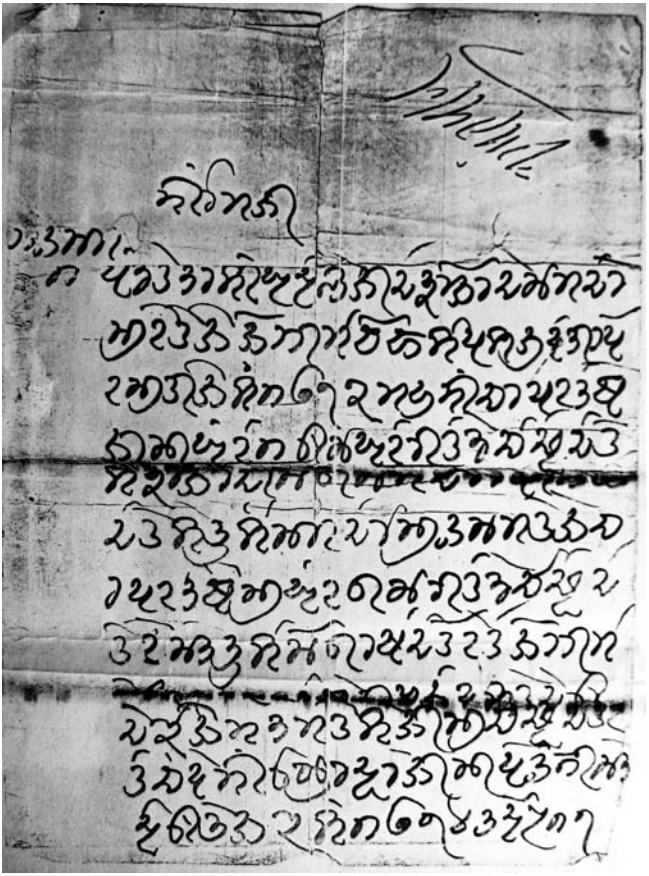


Figure 4.III.11 Paṇḍit Narsingh asks Bharmaur Kāmadārs to assist Madho Jogī, 1917 CE

Document No. III.12
Ram Singh to Kāmadārs of parganās for Jogī-Jātrā, 1920 CE

This was perhaps the first order of Rājā Rām Singh, who was installed in March 1920 by Sir Edward Maclagan, the Governor of Panjāb. The order is particular and concise, detailing the type of services, unlike other documents, which left this unspecified as 'services' only. Miāṅ Kesarī Singh was the brother of Rājā Rām Singh, who was appointed as the Wazīr of the state and some of the later documents were issued by him as well.

In this document, the ambiguity of dates is conspicuous. The provisions of this document are made in S. 1977 (1920) when it was issued.

The year according to the Vakrami era changes on the first day of Caitra, also the day when this document was fashioned. However, the year was still S. 1976 (1919) according to the local reckoning and would change after a month, in Vaiśākha. There is, thus, a difference of 28 days. The Rājā, who had been tutored and trained by the British officials, therefore inscribed 76 in keeping with the dating tradition followed in Chambā, as the year at the time of the making this document.

Transcription

Signed: Ram Singh (in English)
(76 in *Devanāgarī*)

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Oṃ Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Rām Singhe jī dā Gudiyāḍī/ Sāho/ Pañjiyā/ Bhaṭṭiyā/ Sāñcā (?) de kāmadārā kī aihe je Śrī Charpaṭnāthe jī kī Joga-Jātrā jihāṅ piche laī lakaḍī/ golī/ mandarī/ cākḍe dinde āiye tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī 1977 dī Joga-Jātrā de jāgare lagāyat barābar dai karo. Sammat 1977 S. 95 Caitra parviṣṭhe 1 likhayā.

Translation

Signed (in English): Ram Singh
(Year 76)

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Oṃ. Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Rām Singh instructs the Kāmadārs of the parganās Gudiyāḍī/ Sāho/ Panjāḷā/ Bhaṭṭiyāt/ Sāc (?) that like yester-years they should provide for the Joga-Jātrā of Śrī Charpaṭnāth [the following]: the fuel-wood, workers [for the commemorative feast], men to handle the shrine-affairs [bringing in grain due from respective places]. You are instructed to help accordingly the *jāgarā*-round the clock ceremonial of the year 1977. Written on the 1st of Caitra S. 95 (1919) or 1977 (1920 CE).

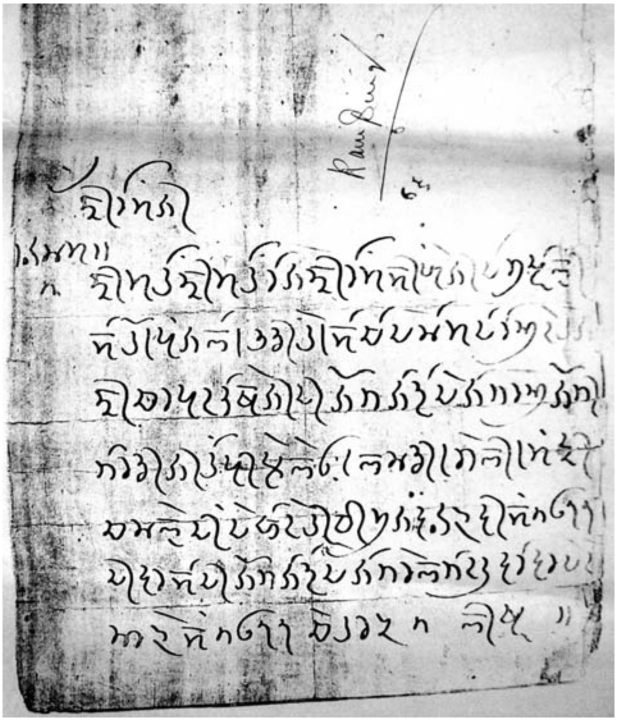


Figure 4.III.12 Ram Singh to Kāmadārs of parganās for Jogī-Jātrā, 1920 CE

Document No. III.13
Ram Singh to Kāmadārs of Churah for Joga-Jātrā, 1920 CE

Transcription

Signed: Ram Singh (in English)

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Oṃ Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Rām Singhe jī dā Churahe dī tarfā de kāmadārā kī aihe je Śrī Charpaṭnāthe jī di Joga-Jātrā ki dhayāḍī/ bhoga/ bhagat/ Jogī-Guāraḍī jihāṅ piche laī dinde the tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī Sammat 1977 dī varṣā dī Joga-Jātrā lagāyat barābar di karṇī. Sammat 1977 Caitra praviṣṭhe 1 likhayā.

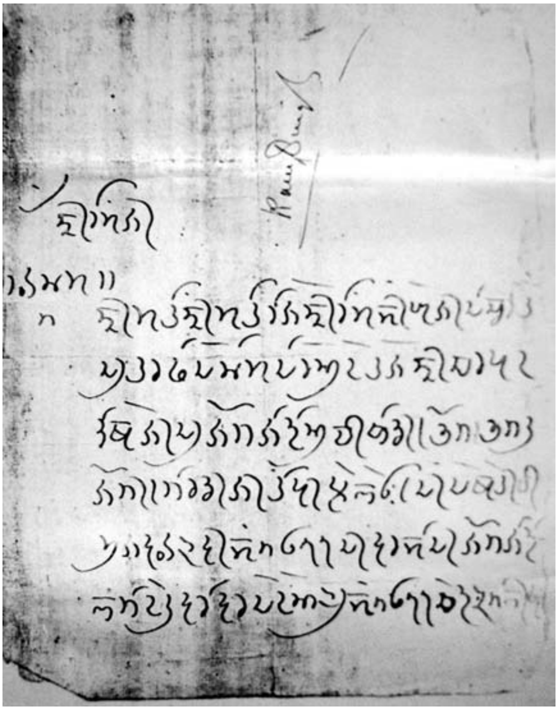


Figure 4.III.13 Ram Singh to Kāmadārs of Churah for Joga-Jātrā, 1920 CE

Translation

Signed (in English): Ram Singh

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Oṃ. Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Rām Singh instructs the Kāmadār of Churaha that they should provide like yester-years the daily wages, food-offerings, sacrifice and cash [Jogī-Guaradī] for the Joga-Jātrā of Śrī Charpaṭnāth. The Joga-Jātrā of the year beginning 1977 (1920) should be provided for diligently. Written on 1st Caitra, 1977 (1920).

Document No. III.14
Kesarī Singh to the Kāradārs of Vairāgarh, 1923 CE

Transcription

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Oṃ Śrī Miān Sāhib Bahādur Wazīre Kesarī Singh jī dā Churāhe di tarfe Tisse Vairāgarhe de Kāmadārā kī aihe je jihāṅ piche laī Jogī guārḍī Śrī Charpaṭnāthe jī dī Joga Jātrā *kī…Charpaṭnāthe jī de thaḍe uppar pujānde āiye tiddī mūjjab huṇ bhī Sammat 1980 dī* Joga Jātrā *kī Caita parviṣṭhe 20 andar Charpaṭāthe jī de thade uppar Chambe pujāī dainī kane Tisse de Jogī…Jogī dharma…dā Jogī…Jogī auṇe kī hukam suṇāi daiṇā je jihāṅ piche laī Jogī-guārḍī Charpaṭāthe jī dī* Joga Jātrā *dī barābar kane Chambe Charpaṭnāthe jī de thade uppar pujānde āiye tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī pujaī daiṇī tagdīd jānaṇi Sammat 1980 Caitra parviṣṭhe 13 likhiyā.*

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Oṃ. Śrī Miān Sāhib Bahādur Wazīr Kesarī Singh jī instructs the Kāmadārs of Churāha, Tissā and Vairāgarh that they shall continue, as in previous years, to collect in the same quantum the Jogī-guārdi collection and make an arrangement for [it]…so as to reach the seat (*thadā*) of Śrī Charpaṭnāth. You are required to arrange for the *Samvat* 1980 Joga-Jātrā collection such that it reaches the seat of Śrī Charpaṭnāth jī at Chambā by 20 *parviṣṭhe* of Caitra. The Jogī of Tīssā…the Jogī dharma…the Jogī of…the Jogīs should accompany. The orders should be passed that the Jogī-guārdi, of the same quantum as in earlier years, should reach the seat of Charpaṭnāthjī, synchronized with the Joga Jātrā as in yester years. Urgency should be shown. Written on 13 *parviṣṭhe, Caitra, Samvat*. 1980 (1923 CE).

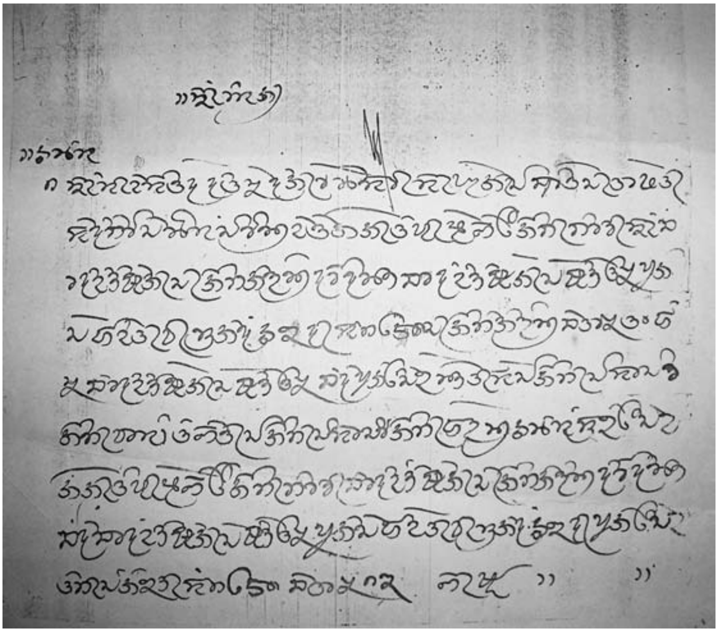


Figure 4.III.14 Kesari Singh to the Kāradārs of Vairagarh, 1923 CE

Document No. III.15
Ram Singh to Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa, 1924–25

Transcription

Signed: Ram Singh (in English)

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Oṃ Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Rām Singhe jī dā Gadheraṇe di tarfā de Kāmadārā kī aihe je Śrī Maṇimaheśe jī kī Śrī Charpaṭnāthe jī dā jhanḍā hameśā ḍaḷe de nahauṇe kī aündā se tussāṅ Kāmadārā kī hukum haī je jihāṅ Sammat 1981 vic apaṇe apaṇe allāke de ādamī 3 trai ādamī jhanḍe kane ditte the tidhī mūjab huṇ bhī daī daine kane nivadhī Kuṭheḍū baḷī/ bhagat kane pargāne pargāne fassalā upar barasodh bharo jihāṅ piche lai jhanḍe kī dinde āiye tiddhī mūjab huṇ bhī daī dainā kane Bharmaur ādamī ika roja pehale daī daine pharak nā hoi tagdīd janaṇī Sammat 1982 Sauṇ parviṣṭhe 25 likhayā.

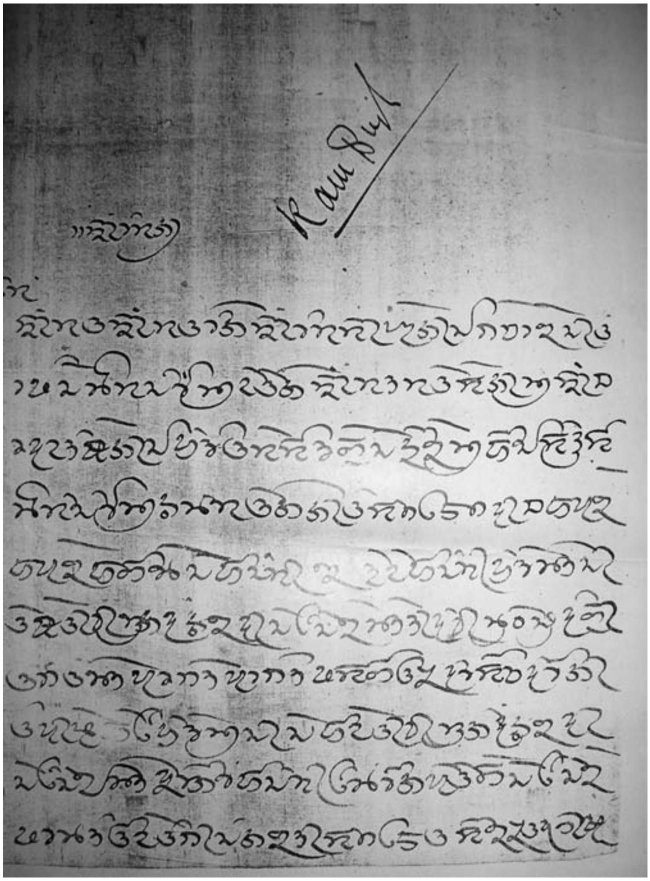


Figure 4.III.15 Ram Singh to Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa, 1924–25

Translation

Signed: Ram Singh (in English)

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Ordained by Śrī Mahāśrī Mahārājā Śrī Rām Singh jī to the Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa (Bhramaur) that, as always, the banner of Śrī Charpaṭnāth shall come to the holy bath of *Ḍaḷa* (the lake of Maṇimaheśa). You Kāmadārs (administrative heads of parganās) are ordered that, as in previous years, to provide from your area 3, three people to bear the standard of Charpaṭ. You are also required to arrange for the affordable

amount for *Bhagat* (ritual offering), sacrifice and *Kuṭherū* (incense etc), as well as the customary tribute in kind on the recent harvest from your respective parganās. This annuity (*barasodh*) should be proportionate as in the previous year to Charpaṭ. Like yester-years, send one man to Bhramaur before-hand. Care should be taken that this is not violated (nor Charpaṭ inconvenienced in any way). The above is testified, written on *Samvat* 1982, *Sauṇ*, *parviṣṭhe* 25 (1924–25).

Document No. III.16
Ram Singh to the Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa on the occasion of Maṇimaheśa dip, 1926 CE

Transcription

Signed: Ram Singh (in English)

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Oṃ Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Rām Singhe jī dā Gadheraṇe dī tarfā de kārdārā kī aihe je Śrī Charpaṭnāthe jī Śrī Maṇimaheśe jī dā nahauṇ kī āiye tāṅ jihāṅ piche laī bratesar Jogī// guārḍī// jhanḍe dī bhoga// bhagat// dhayāḍi jihāṅ piche laī dinde āiye tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī daiṇe pharak nā hoye tagdīd jānaṇī Sammat 2 Bhādro parviṣṭhe 10 likhayā.

Translation

Signed (in English): Ram Singh

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Oṃ. Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Rām Singh instructs the Kāradār of Gadheraṇa that the annual visit of Śrī Charpaṭnāth to Śrī Maṇimaheśa for the holy dip is forthcoming. Therefore, you should arrange as earlier for the *bratesari* (customary homage to be collected from each household), Jogī-guārdi, the feasts to honour the (emblematic) banner, and *bhagat*. Wages for this should be paid as earlier. See to it that efforts are not found wanting. Urgency should be shown. Written on 10 *parviṣṭhe, Bhādro, Samvat* 2 (1926 CE).

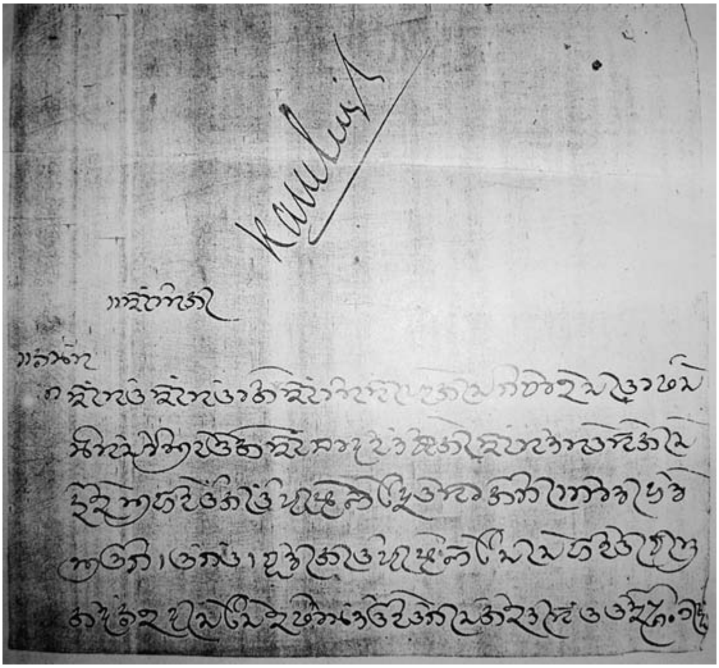


Figure 4.III.16 Ram Singh to Kāmadārs of Gadherana for Maṇimaheśa dip, 1926 CE

Document No. III.17
Ram Singh to Gadheraṇa Kāradārs and Jāgīrdārs, 1930–31 CE

Transcription

Signed (in English): Ram Singh
Rājā of Chambā

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Oṃ. Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Rām Singhe jī dā Gadheraṇe dī tarfā de Kāmadārā kī aihe je Śrī Maṇa Maheśa jī kī Śrī Charpaṭnāthe jī dā jhanḍā hameśā ḍaḷe de nahauṇe ke aüṇdā se tussāṅ Kāmadārā kī hukum hai je jihān Sammat 1987 vic apaṇe apaṇe allāke de ādamī 3 trai ādamī jhanḍe kane ditte the tidhī mūjab huṇ bhī daī daiṇe kanne nivadhī Kuṭheḍū baḷī bhagat kanne pargāne pargāne fasalā upar barasodh bharo jihāṅ piche lai jhanḍe kī dinde āiyee tidhī mūjjab huṇ

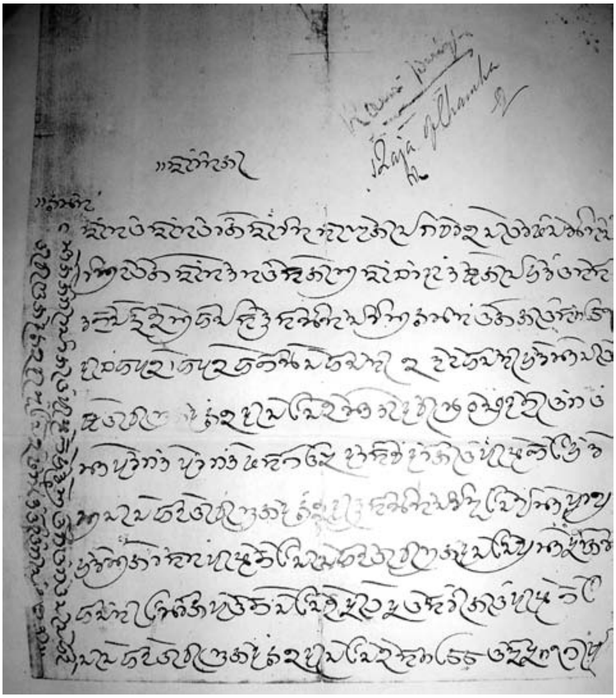


Figure 4.III.17 Ram Singh to Gadherana Kārdārs and Jāgīrdārs, 1930–31 CE

bhī tussān Kāmadārā daī dainā kane paraṇī jhaṇḍe dī je rasam piche laī dinde āiye tidhī mūjjab daī dainī kane Bharmaur ādamī ika roja pehle daī daiṇe bratesarī piche laī dinde āiye tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī daiṇī Sammat 1988 Bhādro parviṣṭhe 17 likhayā.

Kanne jāgīrdār jihāṅ piche laī bratesar bhoga bhagat dinde āiye tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī daiṇī pharak nā hoye tagdīd jānaṇī.

Translation

Signed (in English): Ram Singh
Rājā of Chambā

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Ordained by Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Rām Singh jī to the Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa (Bhramaur) that, as always, the banner of Śrī Charpaṭnāth shall come to the holy bath of *Ḍaḷa* (the lake of Maṇimaheśa). You

Kāmadārs (administrative heads of parganās) are ordered that, as in the Samvat year 1987, you should provide from your area 3, three people to bear the standard of Charpaṭ. You are also required to arrange for the affordable amount for *Bhagat*, sacrifice and *Kuṭherū*, as well as the annuity in kind on the recent harvest from your respective parganās to the banner. Whatever are the customary ceremonial dues should be given/provided likewise. The customary dues (*brtesari*) to Charpaṭ should be proportionate to the previous year. Like yester-years, send one man to Bhramaur beforehand. Care should be taken that this is not violated (nor Charpaṭ inconvenienced in any way). The above is testified, written on *Samvat* 1988, Bhādon, *parviṣṭhe* 17 (1930–31). The jāgīrdārs (landholders) are also instructed to provide bhoga and bhagat to the banner (of Charpaṭ) as in yester-years. There should be no discrimination. The orders should be obeyed.

Document No. III.18
Ram Singh to the Pañjālā-Ranuh Koṭhī asking them to pay tribute to Charpaṭ, 1931 CE

Transcription

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Oṃ Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Rām Singhe jī dā Gadheraṇe dī tarfā de Kāmadārā kī aihe je Śrī Charbaṭnāthe jī Śrī Maṇimaheśe jī de nahauṇe kī āiye tāṅ jihāṅ piche lai bratesar Jogī// guārḍī// jhanḍe dī bhoga// bhagat// dhayāḍi jihāṅ piche laī diṅde āiye tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī daiṇe kanne hor hān jihāṅ picche lai dāk chauki Panjāle kacch lai Ranhuṇ Koṭhī tikkar Jogī guārdi jhanḍe de pujānde āiye tiddhī mūjjab huṇ bhī pujāi daiṇe Sammat 1988 Bhādro parviṣṭhe 17 likhayā.

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Ordained by Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārājā Śrī Rām Singh jī to the Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa (Bhramaur) that Śrī Charpaṭnāth will be coming for the holy dip during the [fair of] Śrī Maṇimaheśa shortly. Therefore, you should arrange in the same proportion, as in previous years, for

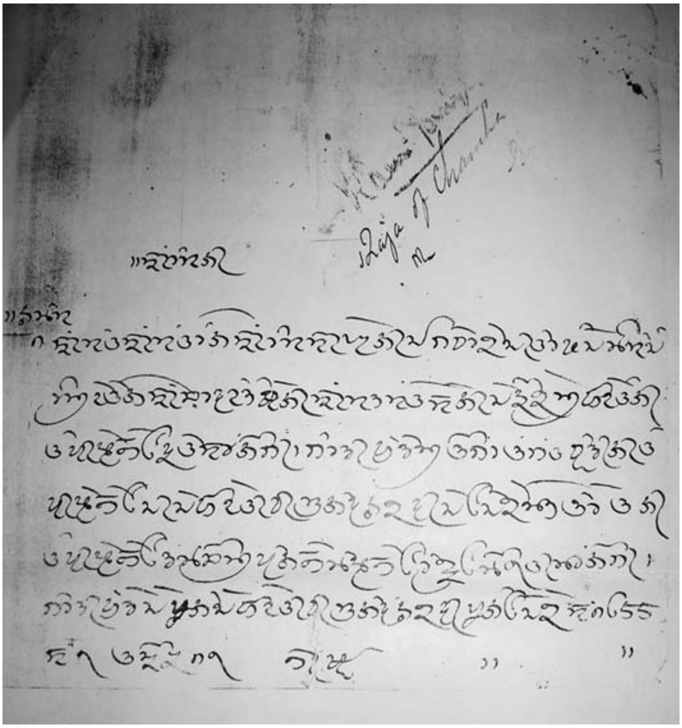


Figure 4.III.18 Ram Singh to Pañjālā-Ranuh Koṭhī to pay tribute to Charpaṭ, 1931 CE

the *brateser*,[54] Jogī-guārdi, the feast in the honour of the banner, and *bhagat* as well as pay the wages [to the workers so employed for these purposes]. Further, you should make arrangement for the dāk-chaukī, like previous years, to facilitate the Jogī-guārdi of the banner (carry the collection received or donated to the banner) from Panjāḷā[55] to Ranhu

[54] *Bratesarī* is the area of tribute extraction and hence influence. Much like *jajmānī*, it is the reciprocal exchange relationship between the devotees and the deity, where money, on a fixed time or occasion—as Jātrā in this case—is donated for the maintenance of the shrine in exchange for protection.

[55] It is clearly stated that the wages are to be paid for the services rendered and forced labour could not be resorted to by the Kāmadārs. This is interesting as Rājā Śrī Singh abolished the practice of extracting forced labour in Vikramī Samvat 1913 or the year 1857 CE, a concession granted only to the villagers of Vādī in Pañjāḷā parganā when a rent-free grant of this village, in entirety, was made to the goddess Jvālāmukhī. B. Ch. Chhabra, *Antiquities*, II, Insp. No. 81, pp. 166–68. It may, however, be surmised that this practice was abolished for this village only and apparently continued in the rest of the state until stated otherwise. This was a standard practice in the western Himalaya unless it was exempted by such a grant. However, in most of the grants to

Koṭhī in the same proportion and extent. Written on 17 *Bhādon* of *Samvat* 1988 (1931 CE).

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the religious shrines such exceptions were made and were clearly spelt out. In other cases, it was one of the local dues that was sought to be complied with. For instance, when the grant made to the *ṭhākurdvārā* of Pinḍorī was renewed, it was implied that such grants were absolved from such services. According to the document XXX, the grant "as *jāgīr* by the way of *dharmārth* and (therefore) free from all customary cesses, obligations and begār." B. N. Goswamy and J. S. Grewal, *The Mughals and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori*, Simla, 1968, p. 252. Individual exemptions were also made, for example to the painter Nikkā by the administration of Ranjit Singh in Kāngrā, the deed particularly mentioned the exemption from "service or begār." B. N. Goswamy, *Painters at the Sikh Court: A Study Based on Twenty Documents*, Wiesbaden, 1975, grant no. I, p. 57.

Forced labour was exempted even earlier and the local functionaries (*cāra* or *cāṭa*) could not extract notified services from the holder of such exemption *paṭṭās* (certificates). The "Sumangala copper plate inscription issued by Vidagdha Varman" clearly states that, "and of our district officers and their subordinates and others no one will be allowed to alight at his (grant holder's) house, to cut or crush his corn, sugar-cane or pasture, whether green or ripe, nor to take *rocika* or *citolā* or to take cow-milk, fuel, grass, chaff, and so on not even the slightest oppression or vexation should be inflicted on him, nor on his ploughmen, cowherd, maids, servants and all other people that are dependant on him. Otherwise, in case of infringement of (this) order, there will be punishment for breaking the law…" M. C. Joshi, "Reflections of Socio-Cultural Life in the Early Chambā Inscriptions of Vidagdha," *The Western Himalayan Kingdom*, p. 36, the inscription is reproduced in the appendix. Also, J. N. Agrawal, IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 30, pp. 181–7. R. S. Sharma, states that the services, if not otherwise stated, could be coerced by the state functionaries, *Indian Feudalism*, p. 102, based on the reading of inscription by A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports, 1902–03*, pp. 252–3, II, pp. 22–4.

That the state "extracted services or forced labour from the cultivators who dwell (ed) in the village" is also evident from the "Chambā Plate of Rajasimha, VS 1835," where such an exemption is made in the land donated in 1776 CE to a Brāhmaṇa, *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 80, pp. 162–64. The earliest literary example of forced labour in the western Himalayan region, however, comes from Kalhana, *Rājataraṅganī*, (M. A. Stein, tr. *Kalhana's Rajatarangani: A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. I, signed 1900, Delhi, MLBD, 1961, Book V&VII) during the reign of King Saṃkara Varman, 883–902 CE. The king levied *kar-begār* or forced labour for load-carriage, though there seems to be some protest against it, disguised in non-compliance, as there are instances of fines on such incidents. For example, when King Saṃkara Varman, "…was in another region, he fined those villages who did not come to carry their loads, for one year, by the value of the load (calculated) according to the (higher) prices of that region." (V: 172). "In the next year he fined without any fault all villagers in the respective villages, by the value of the load according to the same calculations." (V: 173). He thus systematised (*ruḍhābharodhi*) the forced carriage of loads (*kāra begār*) which was of unspecified thirteen kinds. The Brāhmaṇas were also subject to the provisions of forced labour and they sought exemption from this forced carriage of loads from King Harsha, who ruled Kashmir in 1089–1101 CE. As Kalhana writes, "The member of the local Purohita corporation then induced the king by a solemn fast (*prāya*) to grant (them) in compensation exemption from the forced carriage of loads" (VII: 1088, p. 352).

For the modern context in the Shimla hill-states and abolition movements, C. L. Dutta, *The Raj and the Shimla Hill States: Socio-Economic Problems, Agrarian Disturbances and Paramountcy*, Jullandhar, 1997, pp. 91–103; Jaideep Negi, *The Begar and Beth System in Himachal Pradesh: A Study of erstwhile Shimla Hill States*, Delhi, 1995; and the abolition movement in Kumaon, Shekhar Pathak, "The Begar Abolition Movements in British Kumaun," *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 28, III, 1991.

Document No. III.19
President of the Arrangement Council for the Maṇimaheśa dip, 1940 CE

Transcription

(Signed in English) Mani
For President (stamp with initials of dealing clerk)

Śrī Rāmajī

Th. Da.

Hukum

Oṃ President Council Intazāmiyā Riyāsat Chambe jī dā Gadheraṇe dī tarfā de Kāmadārā kī aihe je Śrī Maṇimaheśe jī kī Śrī Charpaṭnāthe jī dā jhanḍā hameśā nahauṇe kī aüṅdā se Kāmadārā kī hukum haī je jihān Sammat 1996 vic apaṇe apaṇe illāque de ādamī 3 trai ādamī jhanḍe kanne diṅde āye tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī daine kanne nivadhī Kuṭherū/ baḷī/ bhagat kanne pargāne pargāne fasalā upar barasodh bharo jihāṅ piche laī jhanḍe kī diṅde āiye tidhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī tussān Kāmadārā kanne purāṇī jhanḍe kī rasam diṅde āiye tiddhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī daiṇī kanne Bhramaur ādamī ika roja pehale daī daiṇe bartesarī jihān piche laī jhanḍe kī bhagat diṅde āiye tiddhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī daiṇī kanne je jāgīrdār jhanḍe kī bhoga bhagat diṅde āiye tiddhī mūjjab huṇ bhī daī daiṇī hukum dī tagīd jānaṇī Sammat 1997 Sauṇ parviṣṭhe 27.

Translation

(Signed in English) Mani
For President (stamp with initials of dealing clerk)

Th. Da.

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

The President (of) the Arrangement Council (of) the *Riyāsat* (royal state) of Chambā instructs the Kāmadārs of Gadheraṇa (Bhramaur) that, as always, the banner of Śrī Charpaṭnāth shall come for the holy bath of [at the lake] Śrī Maṇimaheśa. You Kāmadārs (administrative heads

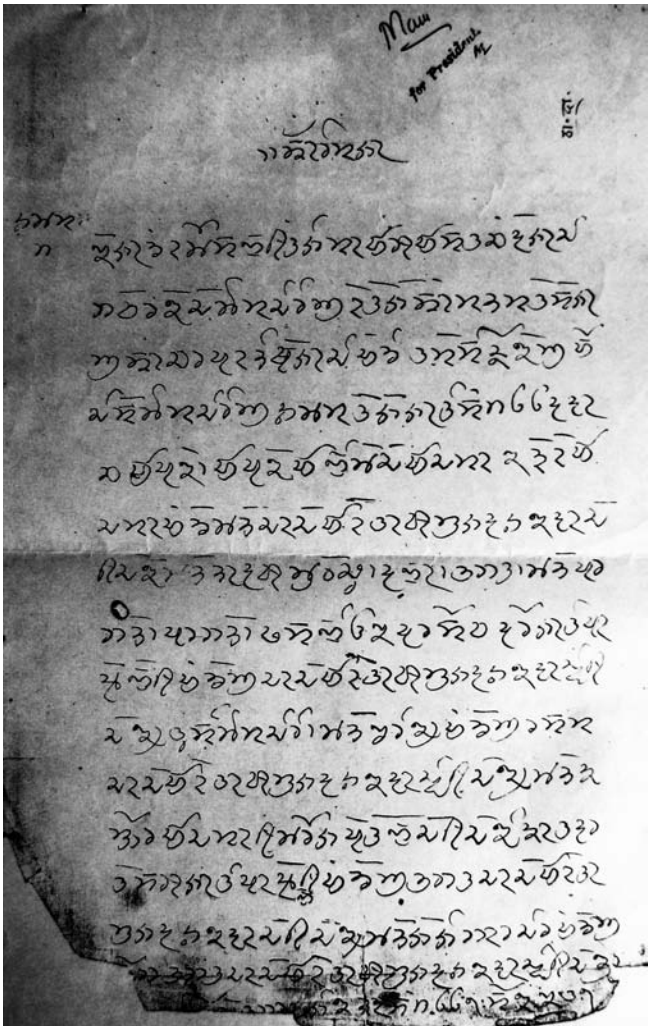


Figure 4.III.19 President of the Arrangement Council for Maṇimaheśa dip, 1940 CE

of parganās) are ordered to provide, as in the year *Samvat* 1996, from your area 3, three people to bear the standard of Charpaṭ. You are also required to arrange for the affordable *Bhagat*, sacrifice and *Kuṭherū*, as well as the customary tribute in kind on the recent harvest from your respective parganās. This annuity (*barasodh*) should be proportionate to the one provided in the previous year to Charpaṭ. What so ever you Kāmadārs might be paying, as per the old custom (*purāṇī rasam*), you should pay now as well in the same magnitude. Further, send one

man to Bhramaur a day earlier (to the arrival of the banner). As in the earlier years, you should arrange for the *bartesarī* and *bhagat* of the banner. Moreover, the *jāgīrdārs* should pay in the same proportion for the *bhoga* and *bhagat* of the banner as they have been doing earlier. The orders should be respectfully abided by. Written on *Samvat* 1997, *Sauṇ, parviṣṭhe* 27 (1940 CE).

Document No. III.20
Lakṣmaṇa Singh to the Kāradārs of Gadheraṇa, 1946 CE

Transcription

Signed in English
Seal: Revenue Member
Executive Council Chambā
(Countersign: initials)

Śrī Rāmajī

Hukum

Oṃ Śrī Mahā Śrī Mahārāje Śrī Lakṣmaṇ Singhe jī dā Gadheraṇe dī tarfā de Kāmadārā kī aihe je Śrī Maṇimaheśe jī dā nahauṇ kī Charpaṭnāthe jī dā jhanḍā jihāṅ hameśā piche laī āndā tihāṅ isa sāle bhī jāṇā isa vāste tussāṅ Kāmdārāṅ kī hukam haī jee jis vakat Charpaṭnāthe dā jhanḍā aüṅdā tāṅ je madad piche laī jhanḍe kī diṅde āiye se madad dasture mūjjab daī deṇī. Sammat 2003 Sauṇ parviṣṭhe 11.

Translation

Signed in English
Seal: Revenue Member
Executive Council Chambā
(Countersigned: initials)

In the name of holy Rāma

Order

Oṃ. Śrī Mahā Śrī Lakṣmaṇa Singh reminds the Kāradār of Gadheraṇa that during the annual holy dip of Śrī Maṇimaheśa the banner of Śrī Charpaṭnāth, as always, shall arrive this year too. You are therefore

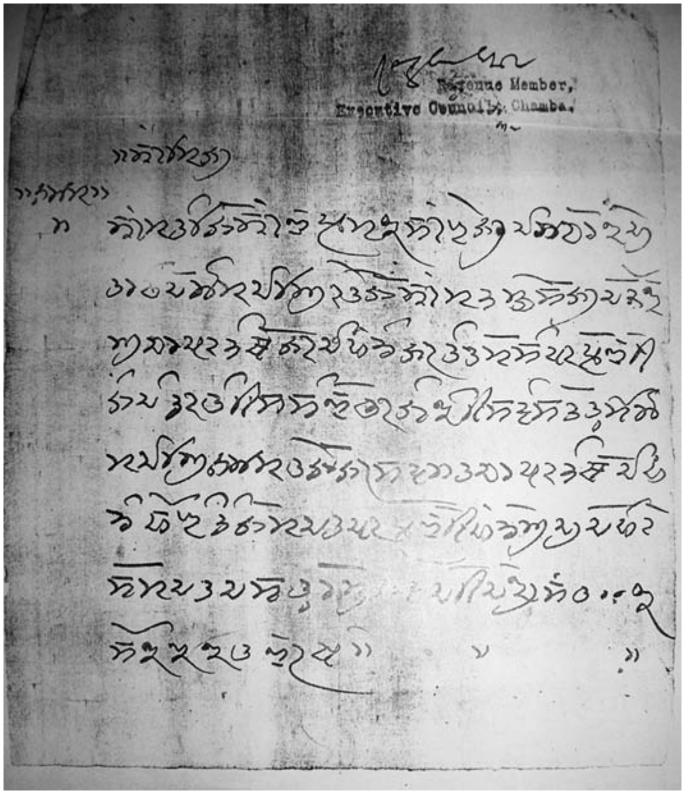


Figure 4.III.20 Lakṣman Singh to the Kāradārs of Gadherana, 1946 CE

instructed that as the banner arrives (in your respective area/jurisdiction?); you shall provide the customary help as you have been doing in previous years. Written on 11 *parviṣṭhe, Sauṇ, Samvat* 2003 (1946 CE).

Document No. III.21
Complaint against the Kāradārs, 1945 CE

It seems that towards the end of the Chambā rule, the local officials, the Kāmadārs, did not pay much attention to the orders of the Rājā, perhaps compelled by the larger political forces that were working towards the freedom movement of India. All of a sudden, there were many complaints about various officials and the courts of law were unable to meet the spurt of complaints. The Jogīs (as we know from our discussion in Chapter 4.V also), considered that such movements

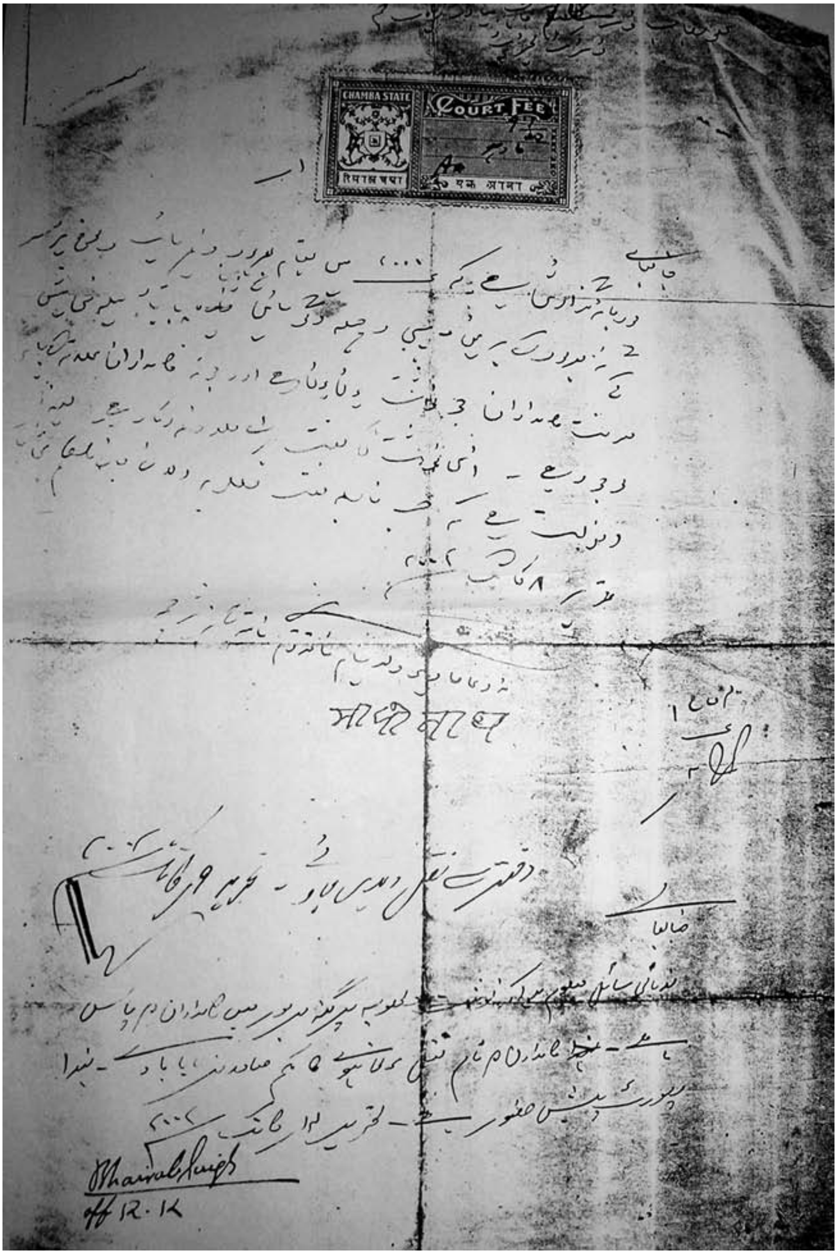


Figure 4.III.21 Complaint against the Kāradārs, 1945 CE

were to their advantage and did not miss any opportunity of filing complaints, making petitions, or resorting to legal recourse to address the situation in their favour. Even when rebuffed by the lower courts, they appealed to the higher authorities. In the document under discussion, they lodged a complaint against the Kāmadārs of Brahmaur, who did not provide enough people, as instructed in various documents every year, to facilitate the procession of Charpaṭ during the course of pilgrimage, as well as to "carry the tribute-proceeds to Chambā" that was collected from various households in their jurisdiction. The Jogīs, therefore, sought orders: that "the copy has been provided to such officials and hope to address the situation." As we shall see subsequently (doc 22.1), the Jogīs requested the Deputy Commissioner to enhance their grant as they "are unable to meet the expense for the pilgrimage." This document provides an insight into the mind-set of the officials of these small shrines, and how they maximised every opportunity to their advantage. This may be seen in the larger picture that was emerging, where such people with a limited constituency of their own, tried to convert it into a local leadership role. That only a few were successful did not prevent them from trying and from evolving a mechanism which would enable them to play a greater role in the Independent Indian polity.

The document is not very legible, written as it is in running Urdu (śikastā) without the proper placement of the vowel sounds. The translation is therefore tentative. However, it is worth noting the different space provided to three languages, which needs to be clarified. The use of Urdu in the main text is indicative of this being the dominant legal script in the hills, the tradition that was carried on to the 1970s; the usage of Devanāgarī for the signatures by Mādho Nāth (he is not so well versed in this script), who is well versed in Urdu and Ṭākarī, perhaps is indicative of the subtleties of the Independence movement reflected in the replacement of the dominant language; the signatures of the officials in English is indicative of it being a status symbol and the 'status' language of the 'advantaged' population of Independent India.

Translation

The District Magistrate Sāhib Bahādur, Riyāsat Chambā

Sir *(Janāb)*

It is humbly requested that (this complaint)...with regards to the orders of S. 2000 (1943)...in revenue circle (mauzā) Harsar in the parganā

of Brahmaur. I am a professional Jogī and belong to the same [such named] caste (the Jogī caste). The Kāmadārs (*Kāmadārān*) of the area are [inimical] to the interest of the complainant…the officials who are functioning in the area feign ignorance [to the orders] and refuse to comply with these and provide a copy to the complainant. The complainant, therefore, requests your highness that a copy of the [orders be provided to these officials].

Complaint filed on 8 of Kātik (*Kārtika*), 2002 (1945)

Plaintiff (*mudai*) Mādho son of Śyāma Nāth resident of parganā Chambā
Signed in Devanāgarī: Madho Nāth

1707/ initials in English

Orders: The office should provide the copy
Initials in English
Dated: 9 Kātik 2002 (1945)

Note appended: We have ascertained that the orders were issued to the officials of Brahmaur. Kindly place the orders to provide a copy of these orders in the name of the officials of Brahmaur. The report is addressed to you, Sir, in this regard.

Signed: Bhairab Singh (in English)
Office of R. K. (perhaps, in charge of the administrative personnel?)
Dated: 14, Kātik 2002 (1945)

Reverse
Final orders
The copy of the orders along with rights may be provided to the plaintiff.
Dated: 14, Kātik 2002 (1945)
Initials in English

Document No. III.22

After the merger of Chambā with the Indian Union on April 15, 1948, the Deputy Commissioner, on behalf of the state, took over the task of organising the Maṇimaheśa jātrā. This included the logistic support to the procession of Charpaṭ and organising the thanksgiving feast on this occasion at Bharmaur. The following documents provide a graphic picture of the practical details of this pilgrimage, the expenditure details pointing out the simple way in which it was then organised. Followed

by the musicians, the procession proceeded as if in marriage, the music heralding the arrival of Charpaṭ in every village that it crossed so that people could pay their obeisance. The objects used for the ceremonial also point out the type of rituals involved. For instance, in 1949, two rams were given for the purpose of sacrifice on behalf of the Rājā. The tradition of sacrifice continues.

Document III. 22.1
The draft of the Petition submitted to the Deputy Commissioner in 1950 requesting extra funds for Maṇimaheśa Pilgrimage

Translation from Urdu

Ba Hazoor Deputy Commissioner Sāhib Bahādur Chambā....

Your highness,

It is humbly submitted that the petitioner (*fidvī*) is in receipt of the help (*kharcā ināyat hotā hai*) granted by the department of temple and charity (*mahkamā mandir imdād*), which incurs the to-and-fro expenses [of Charpaṭ's visitation] from Chambā to Maṇimaheśa. But, due to the whims of time (*zamane kai hālāt*, meaning, thereby the inflationary trends) the complainant is not in a position to meet all expenses. Because the administration (*sarkār*) does not bear the expenditure incurred during the worship at Maṇimaheśa and that incurred on the services provided by the oracles/shamans (*celān*), which also does not form the part of the fourth of the rights granted (*malkīyat*). Although the portal of Charpaṭ (the complainant is petitioning as its manager) has already been meeting these expenses, but the income of the shrine now is much less [than the expenditure]. Therefore, the 'servant' (*mujar*, the complainant) is expected to meet the remaining expense [other than provisioned by the administration] for this visitation. The administration is requested to increase the grant for the visitation so that the complainant is in a position to meet all expenses, which are (the inflation is) ten times today [what they were in the past] (*zamānā kai mutabik das guṇā jā pahuncatī hai*). The labour charges and porterage are also very high (*majdūrī kuliyān bhī kaī guṇā hai*). Therefore, your noble highness is requested to increase the amount [donation] so that the visitation may be undertaken in a manner befitting [the status of Charpaṭ].

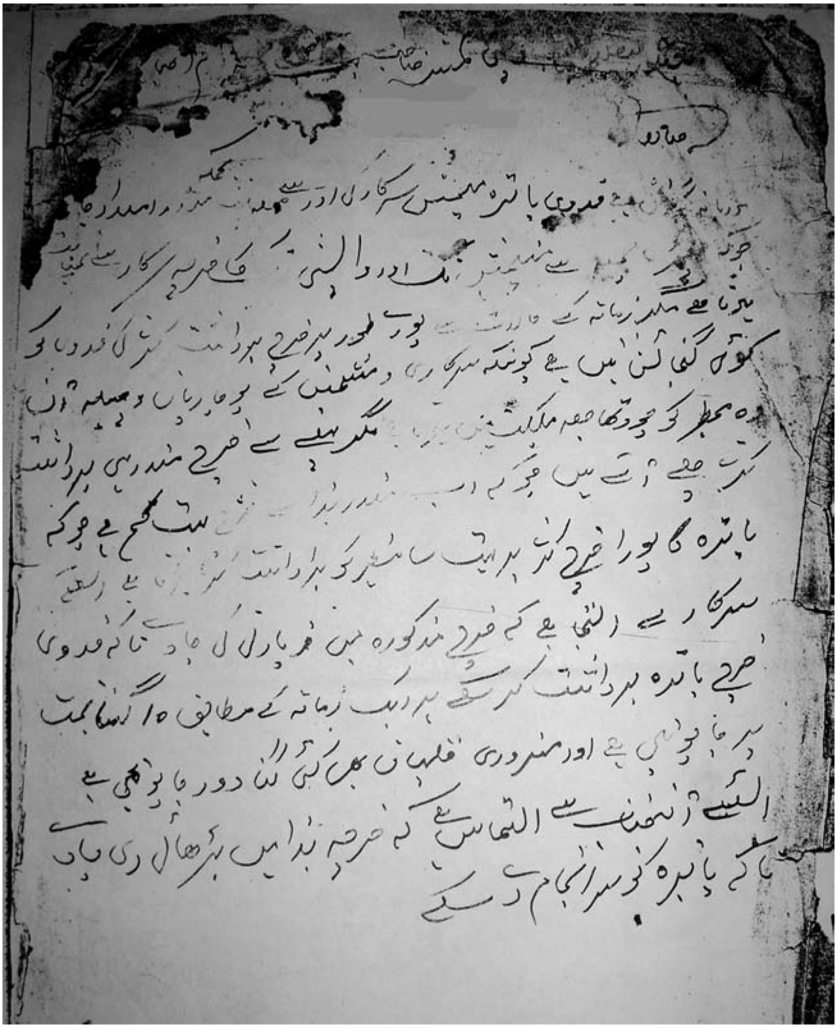


Figure 4.III.22.1a The Maṇimaheśa petition, 1950

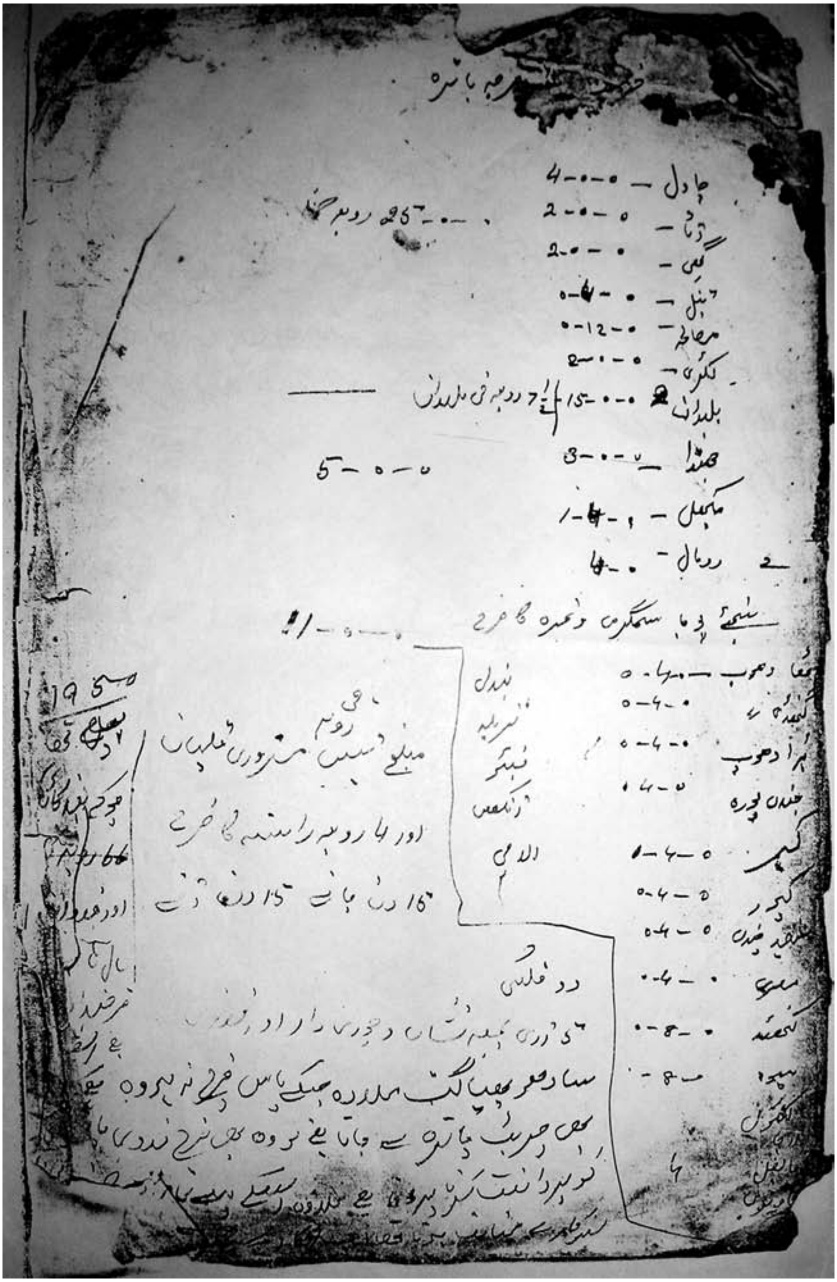


Figure 4.III.22.1b The Maṇimaheśa petition, 1950 (Reverse: the details of expenditure)

Reverse:

The list of expenses is appended for perusal. (All expenses in Rupee-Ānnā-Paisā)

Rice	4–0–0
Wheat flour	2–0–0
Ghee	2–0–0
Oil	0–4–0
Spices	0–12–0
Fuel wood	2–0–0
Rams for sacrifice	15–0–0 Two he-goats to be sacrificed, each at the cost of 7 ½
Total	25–0–0 [this however should be 26–0–0]
Banner (the cloth for)	3–0–0
Makhmal (cotton cloth)	1–4–0 [see how the figure is juggled as 4 is written over earlier 8]
Handkerchief (rūmāl)	0–4–0 2 in number [again 4 is written over earlier 8]
Total 5–0–0	[this however should be 4–8–0]

The expenditure incurred on the *pūjā sāmagrī* (ritual objects) and miscellaneous (*vagerah*) 11–0–0

Dhoopa-incense 0–4–0

Wild incense, *Miṭṭhā dhūp*;[56] Saffron; *kapoor*-camphor; sandalwood powder; dry sandalwood; vermilion; wick-cotton; sugar crystal (*miṣrī*); *Jayaphala*-Nutmeg; raisins 0–8–0; sandalwood; red sandalwood; *Kankol*; *Jāvaitrī*-Mace; *Tawāṅ*; rose water; all worth 0–4–0.
Binadlū; 3 pairs of slipper of grass; *Janeū*-sacred thread; Coconut; all worth 0–8–0.
Porterage/labour charges 30–0–0
Expenditure incurred on the way (15 days to and from Maṇimaheśa) 4–0–0

It is further informed that there are wayfarers and ascetics [of various sectarian affiliations] who do not have any money on their person and

[56] *Jurenea macrocephela.*

expect help that the complainant has to bear from his pocket. Kindly bear this in mind while enhancing the total amount.

Dated 1950
Signed: Madho Jogī

Document III. 22.2
he Expenditure Incurred by the Deputy Commissioner, Chambā, in 1949 (Samvat 2006) in facilitating the Jātrā of Maṇimaheśa.

Source:
Manager, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Complex, *Register 27 (A)* formerly Ā *(Sa)*, I

'Bill' 1: On the assumption of the banner by Baijnāth, the priest of Charpaṭnāth

Bhādoṅ, Praviṣṭhe 6
After the assumption of the banner the offerings made that night at the portal of 20–0–0 Charpaṭ.

	Offering rice (4–0–0) and flour (2–0–0); *ghee* (2–0–0) oil (0–4–0) spices (0–12–0) fuel-wood (1–0–0) 2 rams for sacrifice (10–0–0)
4–0–0	1 cloth for goat sacrifice 1–8–0; cloth for banner 3–0–0; handkerchief 0–8–0 New cloths are offered every year at the time of the assumption of the banner.

11–0–0 *Sañja Sāmagrī*

	Offerings made to Śṛ Maṇimaheśa *Miṭṭhā dhūp* 0–4–0; sandalwood powder 0–4–0; dry sandalwood 0–4–0; vermilion 0–4–0; incense 0–4–0; wick-cotton 0–3–0; crystallised-sugar and raisins 0–8–0; sandalwood white 0–4–0; red sandalwood 0–4–0; *kapoor* or camphor 0–4–0; Saffron 2–0–0; *Kankol* 0–4–0; *Jayaphala*-Nutmeg 0–4–0; *Jāvaitrī*-Mace 0–4–0; *Tawāṅ* 0–4–0; rose water 0–6–0; *binadlū* 0–3–0; 3 pairs of slipper of grass 0–6–0; *Janeū*-sacred thread 0–2–0; Coconut 0–8–0

34–0–0 Cash Expenditure during the Jātrā
Musicians accompanying the banner 2–8–0; Coolies, for carrying the banner while going and return along with banners 30–0–0; 1 *Kīraṭū* and 1 *Karaṅḍī* (the carriages/baskets made of hemp-straw) 1–4–0
Total Expenditure 70–0–0

'Bill' 2:
12–8–0 Kerosene oil purchased for the Jātrā
58–4–0 Coolie, cartage, offering, and managerial expenses made by one Nṛsing of the Khatri caste and Mādho Lāl
Total Expenditure 70–4–0

Expenditure incurred by the Kāmadār of Bhramaur
12–0–0 2 Coolie to-and-fro from Bhramaur and Maṇimaheśa
8–0–0 2 Coolie to-and-fro from Jasol to Bhramaur and Maṇimaheśa
8–0–0 2 Coolie given to the Bhanḍārī, or store-keeper
8–0–0 2 Coolie accompanying the musicians
Total Expenditure 30–0–0

329–4–0 Arrangements for gas-lights, spirit, and matchboxes
Total Expenditure incurred by the administration (on the production of bills) Rs. 400

Signed

Document III. 22.3
The Inventory of the Objects Provided for the Bhanḍārā of Maṇimaheśa at Bhramaur Koṭhī-1954

Source:
Manager, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, *Bhramaur Illāqa ke Devatāoṅ kī Sampattī ke Register, 1954* (*The register of the property of the temples of Bhramaur area, 1954AD*)

The running list is in the following order:
S. No. Name of the Object (Quantity) Weight—in *tolā, māśā, rattī*, denoted as T, M, R—Remarks;

Silver canopy with black bells—*ghuṅgarū* (1) 184 T; 2. Silver box in four pieces (1) 121T; 3. Silver canopy with black *ghuṅgarū* (1) 22 T; 4. Simple silver canopy (1) 22 T; 5. Simple silver canopy (1) 4T6M; 6. Simple silver canopy (1) 4T9M; 7. Simple silver canopy (1) 1T9M; 8. Silver s*aṅgala*-chain with 25 *laḍī*-strings (1) 163T; 9. Silver s*aṅgala*-chain with 15 *laḍī*-strings (1) 84T; 10. Silver s*aṅgala*-chain with 7 *laḍī*-strings (1) 52T; 11. Silver spear (1) 114 T; 12. Silver *Kahle* in 4 pieces (2) 144T; 13. Assā covered in silver (4); 14. Fly-whisk handle of silver (1); 15. Fly-whisk holder (*muṭṭhā*) of silver (1); 16. Copper vegetable knife (7); 17. Copper *Baṭloī* (2); 18. Bronze *degā* (1); 19. Copper *Tarmūṅḍī* (1); 20. Bronze *lambhū* (1); 21. Copper *lambhū* (1); 22. Copper *araṇā* (1); 23. Jug of copper (2); 24. Copper *Baṭlohū* (12); 25. Copper *Loṭā*-urn (6); 26. Copper *ḍholal*-drums (2); 27. Copper *kahleṅ* in four pieces (1), *bhajjaḍa*-broken; 28. Bronze *kahal* (1); 29. Copper *vāṭṭī* (6); 30. Copper ladles (3); 31. Copper tumbler (1); 32. Platters of bell-metal (2), 1broken and 1unbroken; 33. Copper sieve (1); 34. Bronze *kundu* (1); 35. Copper *musajan* (1) broken; 36. Copper *hukkā* (1) broken; 37. Copper bowl for oil (1)broken; 38. Bell metal (4) 1big, 2 small, 1 copper; 39. Iron *Partari*-vegetable cutter (1); 40. Iron sickle (2); 41. Iron *kāla* (1); 42. Iron *goṇṭū* (1); 43. Iron rod (1); 44. Iron *danḍārū* (1); 45. Iron four headed trident (1); 46. Iron *soṭhā*-staff (1); 47. Iron chain (2); 48. Iron chain for gun (1); 49. Iron *pūṇī* 1, staff 1, *fairuā* 1, *vāṭṭī* 2 (5); 50. Iron weights—*seer* 1, half-*seer* 1, *pañja-pāī* 2, 2½ *seer* 1 (5); 51. Iron *karaṅḍī* 1, *gavḷī* 1, *cuhmaṇī ṭopī* 1 (3); 52. Iron pair of *nakāra*-drums (4); 53. Iron *kokḍe* 2, knife 1, *dhakhrū 2*, *rabī* 1 (6); 54. Iron hammer 1, stove 1, *ghumaṅcā* 1 (3); 55. *Jhāla* 4, *nihāṇī* 1, *barkā* 1, *Ganāḷah* 2 (8); 56. Iron big-ladles 2, sky-lamp 1, grinding mill girdle 1 (4); 57. Bronze *pohlī* 3, 1 of copper (4); 58. Iron gun pipe (15); 59. Iron *bagghū* (23); 60. Iron arrows

Signed 6–10–1954 Handed over to the Kāradārs of the committee of Maṇimaheśa, Bhramaur.

Entry made at a later date:

61. Polythene-tent canopy (1) in the custody of Lālā Tanī Rāma

Signed 17–4–1960.

Document III. 22.4
Expenditure on the Yātrā of Maṇimaheśa by the Administration of Chambā

Source:
Copy of letter no. 25–83/60–GAD, dated 13th August 1961 from Under-Secretary to Himachal Pradesh Administration under Grant-in-Aid, under the head of 157 Misc. B. miscellaneous BI Donations for charitable purposes. B 1 (I) Charitable ceremonies and *Dharmārth* ('religious endowment') during the year 1961–62.

Purpose	Expenditure in 1959 (Rs)	Expenditure in 1960 (Rs)
Charī of Charpaṭnāth	50	75
Labour charges for Chaurāsī, Bhramaur		150
Payment of 3 kāmadārs and *celā*		30
Fuel wood	150	265
Ritual objects or *Sañja Sāmagrī*	25	25
Sacrifice or *balī*	75	30
Kerosene oil	15	
Water at Khānī Haḍsar	25	50
Participating Sadhūs	50	50
Labour Charges	25	60
Total	400	750

Document III. 22.5
Expenditure Incurred by the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Temple on the First Day of Maṇimaheśa Jātrā in Chambā in 1995

Source:
Manager, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Complex, *Register Aa–13: Utsava va Tyohar Manane ka Register (Register for celebrating the festivals and ceremonies), 1997*

Pavitra Chaṛī yātrā from Chambā to the lake of Maṇimaheśa

Normal time of the yātrā: the months of Bhādon/Āśvina with the beginning of the pilgrimage of Maṇimaheśa

Expenditure:

To Mahant, Daśanāmī Akhāḍā for ritual worship, bhoga etc.	Rs. 700
Carriage of banner, fly-whisk, etc.	Rs. 350
For the accompanying people	Rs. 200
For *sukh-pāla* or palanquin carriage (5 person @ 30/person)	Rs. 150
Music band (Home-guards)	Rs. 275
Music band (party no. 2 & 3 @ 150/party)	Rs. 300
Nakārā-percussion and *Śehnāī* (6 person @ 20/person)	Rs. 120
Prasāda (consecrated food) from Dalīp Chand	Rs. 500
Pamphlets and posters	Rs. 300
Total expenditure for the first day ceremony	Rs. 2895

The Chaṛī yātrā shall begin from the Daśanāma akhārā exact seven days before the beginning of the Maṇimaheśa and will halt at the following stations. It shall reach the lake a night before the holy-dip. Early in the morning the big stones on the bank (*chaḍa*) will be washed and the Kailung (nāga) propitiated.

Reverse page:
The halting stations are as follows;
1. Julāhkharī (in Chambā town) at the temple of Śṛ Kṛṣṇa Rāi (Har Rāi)
2. Rākha 3. Durgaṭhī 4. Bharmaur town 5. Harsar
6. Dhancho and 7. Maṇimaheśa (a night before)

On the auspicious occasion, sharp at 4:00 AM the banner (*chaḍī*) will be immersed in water and the holy dip will begin with the shamans (celās) of Kailung Nāga jumping into the water. Thereafter shall all the devotees take bath.

4.IV
Charpaṭ: The Economics of Ritual

> ...that with all his resources the *sādhaka* should gather together all the materials through which the experience that consists of varying degrees of rapture and supreme bliss may arise within himself.
> (Jayaratha's commentary on Vāmakeśvarīmatam: I.106)[57]

[57] L. M. Finn, Tr., *The Kulacūḍāmaṇi Tantra and the Vāmakeśvara Tantra with the Jayaratha Commentary*, Wiesbaden, 1986, I.106 commentary to this verse.

The documents in this section do not describe the ritual but deal with the provisions made, and the objects used for the ritual practices, which does shed light on them. The documents deal with the daily provisions made; calendric rituals and how Charpaṭ is involved in the process; and with specific rituals of Mahākālī, who is also the tutelary deity of the Chambā rulers (the royal genealogy calls it Bhadrakālī, but it seems that both are used interchangeably?).

The first document is more concerned with domestic consumption than with ritual, even though the goods offered are for a ritual purpose. This is significant as ritual and private boundaries blur in the status of a priest (including brahmanic temple priests as well). In that they lived off donations, they assumed the sins of others that came along with the gift. Raheja[58] formulates this conception as 'the poison of the gift.' This is one of the reasons that all categories of temple priests are placed low in the caste hierarchy. The document, however, compliments the household economy along with the 'Collection documents' (Section II) that we read earlier. On each of the calendric rituals/ceremonial, the Jogīs received a similar offering of objects as the Brāhmaṇa *purohit* or priests.

It is vital to understand that the objects offered, even if some were local in nature, were in consonance with the tantric ritual tradition as it evolved in the north India after the first millennium CE. For instance, *The Lakṣmī Tantra*, composed around 1200 CE, probably in Kashmir, advocates eighteen types of essential daily offerings (*ṛc*):[59]

> *Āvāhana* (evocation) and the seat, (water) to wash the feet, together with *arghya*[60] and (water for) washing the mouth, (ingredients for) bath and the dress along with the scarf and the sacred thread,[61] perfume, flower, lamp, incense, *madhuparka*,[62] *prāpaṇa*,[63] betel-leaf with camphor and the offering of a handful of flowers to the feet (of the deity), the dedication of the propitiation of the self and the meditation on the desired state of existence.

[58] Gloria Goodwin Raheja, *The Poison of the Gift: Ritual, Prestation and the Dominant Caste in a North Indian Village*, Chicago, 1988.
[59] Sanjukta Gupta, tr., *Lakṣmī Tantra: A Pāñcarātra Text*, Leiden, 1972, 36: 76–79.
[60] This consists of rice-grain etc. mixed with butter. *Lakṣmī Tantra*, 37: 30.
[61] Upavīta is always given to the male deity. *Lakṣmī Tantra*, fn. 6, p. 219.
[62] Concoction of curds, milk, butter and honey. *Lakṣmī Tantra*, fn. 7, p. 219.
[63] Food offerings, such as rice, etc. *Lakṣmī Tantra*, fn. 8, p. 219.



Figure 4.IV.a Offering ritual objects to the Ficus tree (flour balls symbolic of animal sacrifice, water in a tumbler, vermilion, flowers, rice, red-thread, incense, and cooked food)

Āvāhana, in daily parlance, is the process of evocation of the deity—the object of worship. For a specialist, however, it is the faculty whereby "the adept makes the deity his own through the power of his own self and by the (practice of worship) with the mantras which are identical with consciousness" (36:80–82). The *āsana* is popularly known as the seat offered to the adept conducting the rite. However, *The Lakṣmī Tantra* advocates the offering of *āsana* as an act through which the realisation that God (Harī) 'inhabits the universe', that consists of both unconscious and conscious, "with a view to well-being (*svastikṛti*)."[64] The offering of waters is the symbolic binding of the unconscious to the conscious as the primordial water is the first manifestation of *prakṛti* (loosely put, 'nature').[65] Since, the existence of the world is dependent upon it, therefore, the waters are offered/used in various ways, at each stage within the rite being performed, such as *arghya,*

[64] *Lakṣmī Tantra*, 36: 82–84.
[65] *Lakṣmī Tantra*, 5: 19–21.

ācamanīya, padya and *snānīya*; or, *tarpaṇa*—all involve worship with the offering of water. The *arghaya* actually consists of the following ingredients: mustard seed, sesame seed, panic grass, barley grains and white rice-grains mixed with water, milk and fruits.[66] In the language of the *Lakṣmī Tantra*: "The blissful Śakti of mine (Lakṣmī), by which the deity is strengthened, is indeed the *arghaya*…"[67]

The external manifestation of the deity is invoked through rituals fulfilling the five senses through external objects such as sound, touch, form, taste and smell. The internal realisation is through 'ego', psyche or consciousness, which should be realised by making an internal offering—the spiritual process of the realisation of symbolism in the external. As the objects of ritual (the objects of enjoyment) are identified with the divine, therefore the adept should derive enjoyment by gazing (*īkṣaṇa*) at the ritual objects; while partaking of the essence of the ritual, the *prokṣaṇa*.[68]

(Thereafter) he should (mentally) bring to his eyes that majestic state of the couple, which is called Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, the eternal supreme dweller of the heart and identifying himself with that (he) should view all (the ingredients of the worship) with a steady gaze.

The entire royal household and the courtiers of Chambā participated in and made offerings to Charpaṭ on ritual occasions. For instance, during the Maṇimaheśa jātrā, all the princes, princesses and the queen made offerings in personal capacities. Each offering was fixed (*bartan*)[69] and hierarchic in relation to the other—hierarchy determined both by status and relationship to the Rājā. As one moves down the line from the frame of reference, the Rājā, the offerings, both in cash and kind, are reduced, compared to the one immediately above. The only

[66] *Lakṣmī Tantra*, 37: 30.

[67] *Lakṣmī Tantra*, 36: 85.

[68] *Lakṣmī Tantra*, 37: 60–61. Deriving joy from the ritual objects is considered significant to realise the objective of the ritual. This is emphasised by all the texts. For instance, Jayaratha in his commentary states that: "One should always worship the deity having arrayed oneself in those things which promote good fortune and delight in the mind." L. M. Finn, Tr., *The Kulacūḍāmaṇi Tantra and the Vāmakeśvara Tantra with the Jayaratha Commentary*, Wiesbaden, 1986, Commentary to the verse I.106.

[69] The *bartan* is a socio-cultural concept of reciprocal exchange that defines 'reciprocity' in terms of caste and social status. The *bartan* defined the proximity of relationship. While close kin were expected to make a larger donation, co-villagers made only a token gesture. This was also the case with the villagers' ritual participation; each household made a fixed 'compulsory donation,' except those sponsoring the ritual. The 'royals' too were tied up in this relationship and made donations/offerings/tribute according to their station.



Figure 4.IV.b Objects for simple ritual offerings (flour balls, jar of water, vermilion, flowers, barley, rice, red-thread, incense, lamp and cooked food)

exception to this rule being when a particular 'royal' would sponsor the ritual, as thanksgiving for example. In that case they would make a larger offering.

The objects of ritual are interesting, reflecting the dynamism involved as well. For the Maṇimaheśa jātrā, apart from *Bilava* (*Aegle marmelos*) leaves and fruits that are associated with Śiva, an offering of a snow-bird, considered a local delicacy, is made (perhaps in lieu of a ram for sacrifice?).

Not only were the calendric rituals celebrated, but donations were made on the birthdays of the royal family. On each of the calendric rituals celebrated at the temple of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, a fixed share was given to Charpaṭ, as well as on the birthdays of the royals.

Document No. IV.1
Details of the monthly expenditure incurred by the priests of Charpaṭ, 1854 CE

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

The expenditure incurred by Śrī Charpaṭnāthjī during the period from 1st of *Vaiśākha* to *Caitra* falling in the *Samvat* 30 (1854).

Note: The grains are measured in *maṇa* and *seer*, denoted by M and S respectively. The monetary units are Rupee-*Ānnā-Paisā*, denoted as 0–0–0.

Flour	*Wheat*	*Pulses*	*Salt*	*Ghee*	*Money*	
10S	—	15S	0–6–0	0–6–0	0–2–0	
1M 5S	1M 5S	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	The figures are same throughout the year, accounted on the first of every lunar month.[70]

[70] Such maintenance grants were common in all parts of the western Himalayan region. For instance, in the "Nirmanḍ Copper Plate Inscription of Mahāsāmaṅta Mahārājā Samudrasena," there is a provision of *balī*—offerings of flowers, fruits, grain, rice, etc.—*caru* or cooked food for oblation—and *sattra* or perpetual alms, along with incense, lamps and garland of flowers. IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 84, pp. 328–9. This was specifically for the daily worship and not a maintenance grant, which was provided separately in land-*agrahāra*. Similarly, when the *havana* (sacrificial fire) ceremony was performed on the consecration of the shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa after its restoration by Mahārājā Pratapsimha Varman in 1582 CE in Chambā, the priest was also asked to perform two *havana* and tell four *mālās* or chant sacred mantras with a rosary on behalf of the king. For this he was to be paid daily in kind and money, *rokā*, for this specific purpose only, as a land grant was also made to him for his services rendered to Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. The daily provisions, which were to last only for the days when personal prayer and rosary were being said for the king, consisted of: "2 *ṭaṅkās* in cash, 3 *seer* of fine rice, ½ *seer* of pulses, 2 *sīrsahīs* of salt and 1 *seer* of ghee…" The land grant consisted of 2½ *bhaṅgas* of land at Drabila, "5 lahaḍīs of land…the area to be enjoyed…(including) the house, the upper cottage in the cavity of the hill (?), the footpath and the zigzag watercourse." The same priest was given as *sāśana*, "one house-site in the town of Chambā…for the daily performance of *gö-dūhana-mālā* at (the temple of) Caṅdragupta and of *havana* at (the temple of) Baṅsīgopāla." "Drabila Grant of Pratapsimha Varman, Śastra 58," *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 24, pp. 70–2.

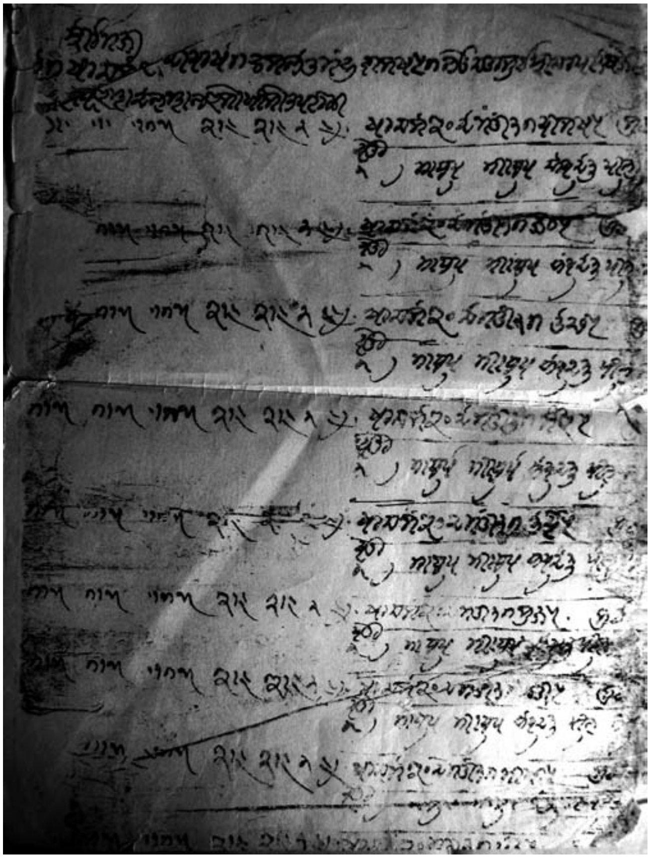


Figure 4.IV.1 Details of monthly expenditure incurred by the priests of Charpaṭ, 1854 CE

Expenditure: Detail

Incense, Natural Incense (*miṭṭha dhūpa*[71] also called *gugaḷa*, which is burnt in *ghee* and sugar), Mango powder (āmcūr), Pomegranate (*dāḍū*),[72] and red dry chillies (*pipplāṅ*), each worth 0–8–0. All these commodities were used, perhaps for ritual, and are same throughout the year, accounted on the first of every lunar month, viz. *Vaiśākha, Jeṭha, Hāḍa*, Sauṇ, and *Bhādro*. Thereafter, along with the above, except chillies which are not used, wood and Coriander (worth 0–8–0 each) is also accounted for the rest of the period as *Sūja, Kātī, Māgher, Poh, Māgh, Phagaṇa* and *Caita*.

[71] *Jurenea macrocephela*.

[72] *Dāḍū* is a type of wild pomegranate, slightly sour, used for making sauce in the Chambā cuisine. Scientific name: *Punica granatum*.

Document No. IV.2
Dharmārth (Religious Endowment) Account, 1938 CE

All the documents deal with the ritual calendar, providing details of offerings in cash and kind by the state and royal family in person on such occasions.

Translation

In the name of holy Rāma

1st of *Vaiśākha*[73] *Samvat* 1995 (1938). The detailed month wise account of the traditional *dharmārth* provided by the state (to the portal of Charpaṭnāth).

Rokā (Re-A-P) Traditional *Basat* (in Kind and Money) S = Se*er*; Chh = Chaṭāṅk; M = *Maṇa*

1st of *Vaiśākha*

6–8–0 2 pitchers; *Nasroan* rice 2S; 2 *uchada*; 2 pārū; *Rokā* 0–2–0

2–2–1 1 turban; *ṭikkā* 1A; for sacrifice 6A; 1.1/2 S rice; wheat flour 2S; *Maidā*-cornflour 2S; *Dāla-Māśa* (black gram, *Phaseolus radiatus*) 1.1/2S; *Ghee* 6 Chh; cooking oil 6 Chh; *Mithreṅ*- fenugreek seed 6 Chh; salt 1S; *ajja*[74] 1S. (from treasury)

1–5–0 1 Rupee for sacrifice; 1.1/2 S rice; 3S wheat flour; 1.1/2 S *Dāl-Māśa; Ghee* 1Chh; cooking oil 1Chh; honey 1Chh; salt 1 Chh; ā*b*-water 1 Chh.

Ichā Tritiyā on 3rd of *Vaiśākha*

0–2–0 1pitcher; 1S *nasroan* rice; *Rokā* 0–1–0

0–11–1 1.1/2 rice; 2S wheat flour; 1.1/2 S *Dāl-Māśa; Ghee* 1Chh; cooking oil 1Chh; honey 1Chh; salt 1 Chh; *āb* (water) 1 Chh.

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[73] The state of Chambā celebrated a customary fair, *melā*, dedicated to the goddess Caṃpāvatī of Camāsṇī from the first of Vaiśākha, the beginning of the Samvat year, to the 21st of Vaiśākha, J. Ph. Vogel and J. Hutchison, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, I, Lahore, 1933, p. 285; P. C. Roy Chaudhry, *Temples and Legends of Himachal Pradesh*, Bombay, 1981, p. 62.

[74] *Ajwain*, also known as carom seeds or the 'bishop's weed'; its scientific name is: *Trachyspermum ammi*.

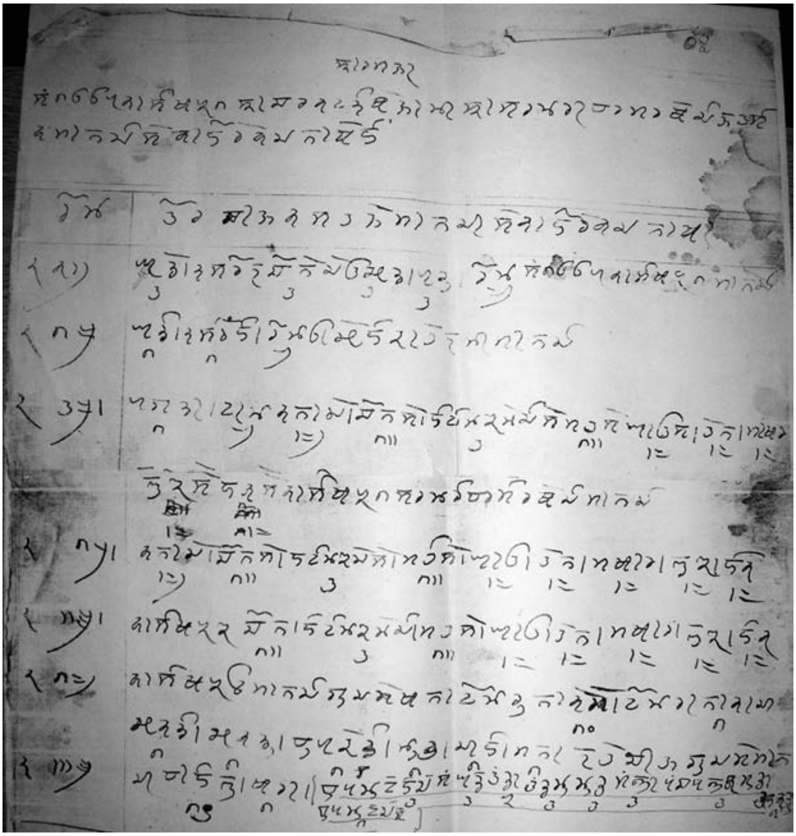


Figure 4.IV.2 S. 1999 (1942) Dharmārth Account (a representative sheet) Note: The underlined in black is a later entry (also mentioned) in blue ink as against the predominant black used)

4th of *Vaiśākha*

1–2–0 10 *Guḍkhyālī ṭokarū* (*līmbe de*);[75] 1 ṭo*karī* (*līmbī dī*); 1 *chābaḍā*; 1 *chābaḍū*;[76] 1 *dhūpa treḍā*; 1 *kumbh*-urn; 1 *dīyā*-ceramic lamp; 1 *mallī*-ceramic lid (all from royal storehouse)[77]

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[75] This means that cow-dung has been pasted onto the basket. The cow dung would make it even and the bamboo shreds, which might otherwise come out, would be fixed. It should be remembered that cow-dung was considered auspicious and hygienic.

[76] All of these are different types of cane and bamboo baskets.

[77] Even where the grants of land were made, occasionally a fixed quantity of grains or objects were provided along with the grant, though it was not a usual practice. For instance, in the late eleventh century inscription, when a land grant of 14½ *bhū* of land was made to the shrines of Harī and Śiva by Pāsata and queen Rardhā, it was complimented with a *Khārī* of grain annually from the store-house of a particular

0–15–0 12 *dhiyālū*; 1 *khārī*; 2 *dhūpa-kuṭe* (each of 1/2S capacity); 2 pitchers; 5 *haṇḍī*-earthen pot; 2 *kumbh*; 3 *mallī*; 5 *pallaba* or leaves; 1 *mūñjī treḍā*

Total
13–5–2

Account of *Jeṭha* month of *Samvat* 1995.
6 Rupees and 4 *Ānnā* in cash as on 4th of *Jeṭha* 1995 (1938)

Document No. IV.3
Account of the royal offering made at the time of Maṇimaheśa Jātrā, 1938 CE

This is the continuation of the above document separated here as it specifically deals with the pilgrimage to Maṇimaheśa.

Translation
Account of Bhādon month of *Samvat* 1995 (1938 CE).

6–4–0 3 Rupees *dharmārth*, in cash, when setting out for the pilgrimage to Maṇimaheśa; 2 Rupees from Gadheraṇa; 1 Rupee on the royal order.
1–10–0 4 *dhoop-kute* (each of 1/2S capacity); 1 *subhan* (of six grains); 1 *Karaḍī* (or Monāl: a snow bird);[78] 1 canopy for the *bhujja*; 1 *Billa-Bilava;*[79] *Billa-patrī*
(all from the Jamwāl queen—whose natal house is in Jammū)

village. The inscription reads (vs.21, tr. L. 15–22), "…also from the store house (*koṣṭhagāra*) of Bhadravarman (the name of the village, perhaps Baḍhrām as identified by Vogel) annually on *khari* of grain, in figure 1 *Khārī* of grain…." Along with this a bhū of land was also granted in this village. "Chambā Copper Plate Inscription of Soma-Varman and Āsaṭa," *Antiquities*, I, insp. no. 25, pp. 193–97. Also, B-5 in J. Ph. Vogel, CBSMC, p. 8; J. N. Agrawal translates this slightly differently as, "the other 14 *bhū* and 2 *masakas* of land and 1 *khari* of grain are granted by me as an *agrahāra,"* IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 40, p. 215.

[78] *Lophophorus impejanus.*

[79] *Bilava* (*Aegle marmelos*), a fruit with tri-foliate leaves that have a special significance in the Śaiva ritual. For instance, the "Bilvāṣṭakam" of *Śaiva-stutīmaṇḍalam* says: *tridalaṃ triguṇākaraṃ trinetraṃ ca tryayudhaṃ/ trijanamapāpasaṃharaṃ ekabilavaṃ Śivārpaṇama/* or "I offer Śiva one *Bilvapatra* or leaf, which has three leaves, like the three qualities (*Sātvika, Rājsika, and Tāmsika*), like the three eyes (of Śiva) and the three categories of weapon/ By offering one leaf (or fruit?), one is absolved off the sins of three lifetimes" (of three births).

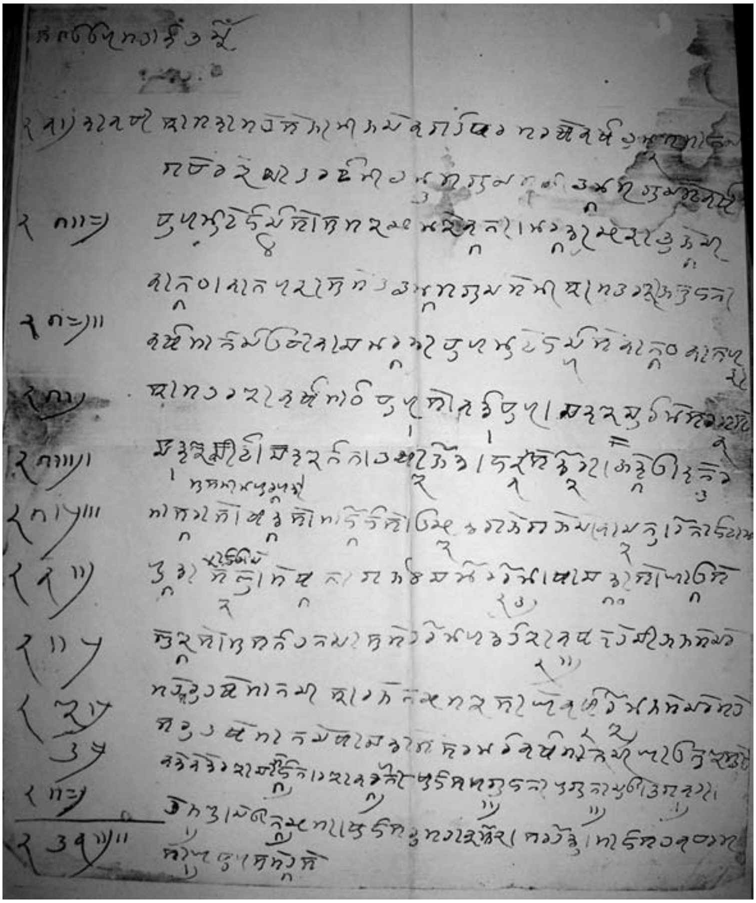


Figure 4.IV.3 S. 1995 Dharmārth Accounts in two sheets (Maṇimaheśa Jātrā's Account)

1–2–2 natural incense[80] 1S; incense 1S; sandalwood powder 2Chh; saffron 6 *māsse*[81] (from the queen? Princess?[82])

[80] Herbal incense that grows wild (now farmed as well) in the high altitudes of Chamba. Scientific name: *Jurinea macrocephala.*

[81] 1 *Māśā* is 1 milligram or thousandth of a gram.

[82] A problem with these documents is that all the married royal members are called Rāṇīs and Rājās, with no distinction between the king and the prince or the queen and the princess. The distinction Kunwar and Kunwari is for the unmarried; who rarely participate in these rituals. The blurring of distinction is even more problematic in colonial times, when these 'princely-states' lost their sovereign rights. Earlier the royal couple would be distinguished by higher titles like Mahārājā or Mahārānī, and there

1–3–0 1 white sandalwood; 1 red sandalwood; 3 black collyrium (mascara?); 6 rose perfumes; 3
1–12–1 *ḍorī*; 1 *janeū*; 2 coconuts; 1 packet of perfumed camphor; 1S *miśri*;[83] 1S sugar; 1S

6–8–0 *meyoyā* (raisins); 3 *uchhda*[84] (each of 1 *gajja* or meter); 3 *bindlu*; 6 pkt of *roliyā ṭikkā*;[85] 3 *sālū* or *dupaṭṭā*; 1 *mekhala* or a girdle-rope, or girdle-cloth (of 4meters); 10S *Khichaḍī*; 1S *ghee*.
0–8–0 1S salt; 1S spices inclusive of turmeric; *Rokā* 0–8–0 (all from *Panḍitāṇī*—the wife of the priest—received through the hands of Jamādār Maheśarū);

3–5–0 5S *Khichaḍī*; 1S each of salt and *ghee; Rokā* 3Rupees (all from the Rājā Śrī Lakṣmaṇa Singh)
2–2–0 1 Rupee The chief queen; 1Rupee queen Baplī; 8 *Ānnās khwās* Pangwāḷī; 8 *Ānnā*
0–9–0 daughter of Pangwāḷī—one whose natal place is in Pāngī; 8 *Ānnā* Bhagavatī; 4 *Ānnās Hejanu*; 1 Rupee Lakṣmī Devī; 1 Rupee Miān Sahīb Bahādur Dharam Singh and 1S incense

Total
26–8–2

Document No. IV.4
Participation of the royal family in different festivals, 1938 CE

This is the continuation of the above document concerning the calendric rituals followed by the Chambā state.

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were even more fancy titles, which were sometimes used for the purposes of defining hierarchy. (See Chapter 1 as well).

[83] Candy sugar, or 'sweet diamond'. Big crystals of sugar made by cooling the supersaturated sugar solution.

[84] *Aṅga-vastraṃ* given along with *dhotī*. *Ucrāda* is kept over the left shoulder while performing the *pūjā*.

[85] Begot from Harīdvār, it is white in colour.

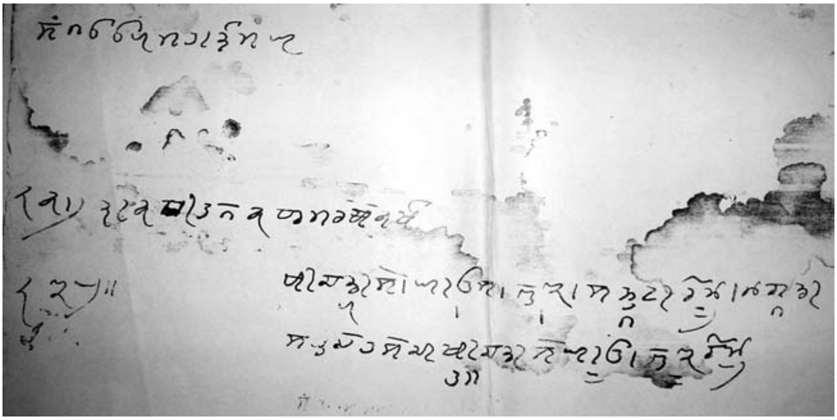


Figure 4.IV.4a S. 1995 Dharmārth for the month of Māgh

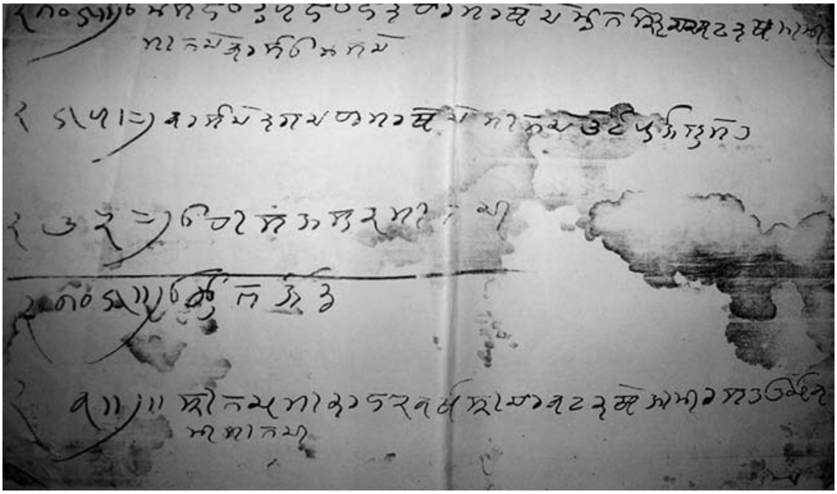


Figure 4.IV.4b S. 95 Dharmārth yearly contributions (reverse sheet)

Translation

Account of *Sūja* month of *Samvat* 1995.
6 Rupees and 4 *Ānnā* in cash as on 4 *Sūja* 1995 (1938)

Account of *Poh* month of *Samvat* 1995.
6 Rupees and 4 *Ānnā* in cash as on 4 *Poh* 1995 (1938)

Account of *Kātī* month of *Samvat* 1995.
Divālī (Deepāvalī)

6–4–0 2 *Ānnā* for 16 *diūṭalī*-lamps; 6 *Ānnā* worth oil for lamps; 1 Rupee for cotton wick

Total
6–6–0

Account of *Māgher* month of *Samvat* 1995.
6–4–0

24th *Māgher*
0–2–0 Birthday of Mahārājā Lakṣmaṇa Singh; 6 *Ānnā* worth jaggery and horse-grams.

Total
6–6–0

Account of *Māgh* month of *Samvat* 1995.
6–4–0 dharmārth for the required requisitioning of goods
3–1–2 5S *Khichaḍī*; 1/4S *ghee*; 1/4S salt; 1 Rupee worth *Sañjū ṭikkā*, also called *añgū*—made of sandal-wood paste;[86] 1 *kāṅgaḍī* or coal burner; 1 Rupee *Rokā*

[86] It is made of 50 gms of *haldar* (turmeric, Latin: *Curcuma longa*) added to 30 gms of *suhāga* (arsenic) and 2 gms of alum. The mixture is ground to make a uniform powder. This powder is mixed in the juice of *galagala*, a citrus fruit (like lemon) and kept in a shaded place for two weeks until it solidifies. Then small pellets are made of this mixture. Whenever required, a pellet is put in water and used.

3–1–2 2.1/2S *Sañjū Khichaḍī*; 2 *Paisā* worth *ghee*; 2 *Paisā* worth salt; *Rokā* 1 *Ānnā*

Traditional yearly *dharmārth* grant from the royal household (*kula*)
108–8–0

Bheṭa pūjā

85–6–0 Traditional yearly *dharmārth* grant for pūjā

Queen's *Sañja*

25–8–0 separate detail provided (see document IV.5)

Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa temple complex

6–8–2 Traditional yearly grant in lieu of donation in kind (*rasad uddābe kī miladī*).

Account of *Phaggaṇa* month of *Samvat* 1995.
6–4–0

Śivarātrī
0–3–0 Rice 5S; *ghee* 1/4S; salt 1/4S; Śiva *bhoga*

Account of *Caitra* month of *Samvat* 1995.
6–4–0

Khinu pūjā

1–6–0 3 *kuḍī*; 1 *dhiyāḷū* or *baḍe-pārū* or vessel for milk and curd; 2 *dhoop-kuṭe* (each of 1/2S capacity); 2 pitchers; 3 *haṅḍī* (earthen pot); 1 *kumbh*; 1*mallī* (clay lid)

Account of *Sauṇ* month of *Samvat* 1995.
6–4–0

Miñjara

0–10–2 2 *tille wālī miñjarā*; 3 silk *miñjarā*; 5 *ḍunā* (leaf-bowl) of sweets

Account of *Hāḍa* month of *Samvat* 1995.
6–4–0

Nirjala Ekādaśī

0–3–0 2 *Sardeyī pārū* or *kucha* clay vessel; 2 ā*bkhore* or water-holders.

Document No. IV.5
ārāṇī of Chambā, 1938 CE

The document is perhaps a part of document IV.4, as it matches the account for the ritual performed by the Chambā queen, given separately as a copy of the objects-of-rites to be used and perhaps procured for the queen.

Translation
The *sañja*[87] of Śrī Mahārānī, the chief-queen of Chambā, the copy of the articles to be used in the *sañja* written by the Mahārānī.

Sakrānda of *Māgh Samvat* 1995

[87] The *sañja* is the assortment of objects used for the daily/particular ritual by an individual (not a priest). It usually consisted of the following objects:

A *thālī* or a platter in which the objects are kept and taken for worship. In it the personal *Ṭhākur*, or icon, is kept and bathed, purified, before the *pūjā* is initiated. *Trambāḍī* are small bowls in which are kept four to sixteen objects. *Jyöta* or lamp; *dhuperī* or the incense burner (incensory); *aragha* or the vessel by which libations are poured; *carnāmatī* or a spoon by which water is offered; *kalasa* or the water-urn; *loṭṭā* or a small urn holding water for libation, *ghanṭī*-bell, a mirror and a comb.

The *sañja* consisted of objects of offerings such as, *akaśta* or rice offering (on particular occasion these were replaced by *pośta* or poppy seed or *seel* or *siūl*); *ṭikkā* or vermilion; *phulla* or flowers; *dubh* or the grass used for libations (*Cynodone dactylon*); *prasāda, tila* or sesame; honey; *Gangā-jala* or the water from the sacred Ganges; milk and curd.

On ceremonial occasions, other objects such as cereals, wheat flour, rice, pulses, jaggery, and money, etc. were also offered. The *sañja* was used for the personal daily worship to one's personal icon, *iśṭa*, as well as on the occasion of festivity. The *sañja* typifies a personal *pūjā* or worship.

The "Nirmand Copper Plate Inscription of Samudrsena," provides us some detail of objects of worship used by the Atharvavedin Brāhmaṇas to worship Kapileśvara and Mihireśvara. The objects are mainly classified as *bali* (standing as the materials of worship, inclusive of flowers, fruits, rice, grain, etc.), *carū* (cooked food to be offered as oblation, *pakvam hotavyam* as explained by Kṣīrasvāmī in his commentary on *Amarkośa*) and *sattra* (perpetual alms-giving, or *sadādāna* in *Amarkośa*), along with lamps, garlands of flowers and incense, IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 84, pp. 326–9. This would approximate the *sañja.*

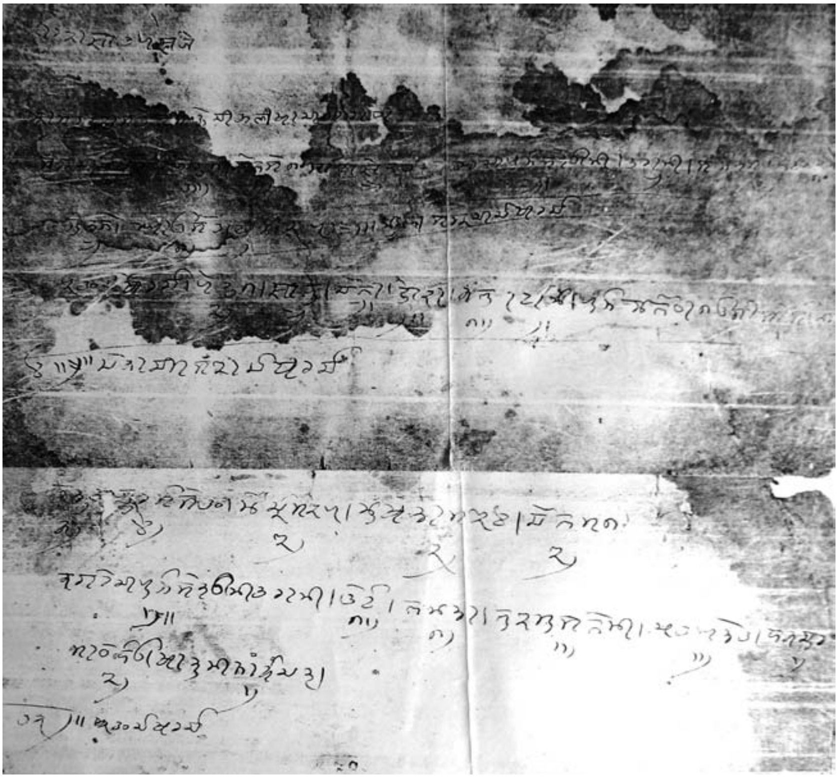


Figure 4.IV.5 The Sañja of the Chambā Mahārāṇī (in two halves)

2–8–0 1S rice; 3S *Dāl-Māśa* ; 2*ānnā* and 1*paisā* for the pūjā of *Jāgrā*—night long vigil
5–7–0 1 *ānnā* for the pūjā of Harī[88]; Wheat flour 10S; jaggery 2S; *ghee* 2S; 1 *paisā* worth *Ṭikkā (ṭīkā for tilaka).*

[88] The *vaṃśāvalī* or the genealogy of the Rājās of Chambā refers to the building of a temple of *Kūrmeśvara* (the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇū) by Sāhilla Varman, a reference to Viṣṇū, generally ascribed to the erection of the shrine complex of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. *Antiquities*, I, p. 76, tr. P. 93.

The first specific land grant record known to us is the "Chambā Copper Plate Inscription of Soma-Varman and Asata," in the Bhuri Singh Museum (catalogue no, B-5) belonging to the temples of Harī Rai and Caṃpāvatī. In this grant there are two unequal portions. One, consisting of half a *bhū*, was given to a Viṣṇū temple "founded by the illustrious Pāsaṭa." Considering the smallness of the grant it was, perhaps, not a very important shrine. It has since disappeared. Of the remaining 14½ bhū of land, these were bestowed to the temple of Harī, founded by Lakṣmaṇa Varman and others to a temple of Śiva by queen Rardha. *Antiquities*, I, insp. no. 25, pp. 187–97; CBSMC, B-5,

20 *Māgh*, Devī Camāsaṇī[89] the pūjā or worship[90]

4–10–0 3 *Ānnā* beru; 2 *Ānnā* sālu or *dupaṭṭā* ; 1 *Ānnā* 1 *Paisā* coḷī; 2 *Paisā* dori; 1Rupee 4 *Ānnā* bindlū; 1 *Paisā* *ṭikkā*; 1lamp; 1 *ungi*; 1 mirror; 1 comb 2 sheep (6 Rs.); 35S *Koḍrā*- ditch-millet[91] (3 Rs.); 4M Maize (3 Rs.); 1M Rice[92] (3 Rs.)

Expenditure for 20th *Māgh Samvat* 1995 (1938) 26–0–2

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p. 11; J. N. Agrawal translates that 2 *bhūmakṣa* "are bestowed as an *agrahāra* upon Lord Viṣṇū installed here" (*Śrī pastsyodeśeṇa pratiśṭhāpīta bhāgvadviṣnave agrahāratve*—vs. 22). This is perhaps the same as later came to be worshiped as Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa, if we follow Agrawala's translation, "the lord Harī (Viṣṇū) who is renowned by the auspicious name of the illustrious Lakṣmaṇa Varman," IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 40, pp. 210, 215. However, at the later date the grant of Harī Rai was shared by the goddess Caṃpāvatī. How a part of the donation, perhaps the part of Śiva was transferred and shared with another temple is not known to us. *Antiquities*, I, p.192; also, D. N. Jha, "State Formation in Early Medieval Chamba," *Ideology and Society*, ed. D. N. Jha, Delhi, 1999, p. 129. Harī Rai temple has evoked a great scholarly interest due to its *Vaikunṭha* image and Kashmiri influence or origin. K. J. Khandalavala, "The Princess's Choice: Keynote Address," and R. N. Mishra, "The Vaikunṭha Images from Chambā and other Centres in North Western India," both in *A Western Himalayan Kingdom*, pp. 1–4 and 111–21, respectively. The first clear inscriptional reference to Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa is the bi-lingual "Uham Grant of Anandavarman," issued in c. 1480–81 CE (Śāstra 57, Śaka 1402). Referred to as 'the supreme deity' (*Śrī parmadevatā Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa*), a tax free (*isa grāyeṅ dā kara dā pā? Śrī devṇe bagśī*) land grant was provided at Uham village in the Mehlā parganā to a Brāhmaṇa of Śaṇḍilya gotra, IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 74, pp. 287–9.

[89] The temple of Camāsaṇī was built by Sāhilla Varman and is also known as the portal of Caṃpāvatī—after his daughter. According to the legend, Caṃpāvatī used to visit a *sādhū*-ascetic (probably Charpaṭnāth) for conversation. Suspicion was instilled into her father's, the king Sāhilla Varman, mind, and "he followed her on one occasion wit a drawn sword in his hand, only however to find that the house was empty. As he entered, a voice came from the stillness upbraiding him for his suspicion, and telling him that his child had been taken from him as a punishment. He was further commanded to erect a temple to her on the spot where he stood, to atone for his sin, and avert calamity from his house." This was subsequently regarded as the family temple of the Rājās of Chambā. J. Ph. Vogel and J. Hutchison, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, I, Lahore, 1933, p.285; P. C. Roy Chaudhry, *Temples and Legends of Himachal Pradesh*, Bombay, 1981, p.62; Subhashini Aryan, *Himadari Temples (CE 700–1300)*, Simla, 1994, p. 14.

[90] According to the *vaṃśāvalī* or the genealogy of the Rājās of Chambā, the one written in 1640s, when Sāhilla Varman established the township of Chambā, he offered a sacrifice of a buffalo, along with other things, on the bank of river Irāvatī to the family deity, Caṃpāvatī. *Antiquities*, I, "Vamsavali," pp. 78–95; vs. 70 p.86, tr. p. 93.

[91] *Paspalum scrobiculatum*.

[92] This line provides us with the prevailing prices at which these items were brought of and hence could be compared with the price in other areas. According to it a male sheep (full grown, perhaps for sacrifice) cost Rs. 3; Kodrā or millet 0–1–3/*seer*; Maize 0–12–0/*maṇa*; Rice Rs. 3/*maṇa*.

21 *Māgh* the pūjā of Nagara
0–4–2 1 Rupee and 4 *Ānnā Bheṭa*; 1 Rupee fuel wood; 8 *Ānnā* spices and salt; 4 *Ānnā Āmcoor; chās* (whey) 8 *Ānnā*

Khinnū Khelaṇā
3–0–0 4 *Ānnā* worth sweets

Document No. IV.6
Festival Redistribution: Charpaṭ's share, 1937–1941

This document is a compilation of unchanging account sheets (of a fixed amount) from the year *Samvat* 1994 to 1998 (1937–1941 CE) which are in the possession of the priests of Charpaṭnāth. Some of these sheets are torn or partially burnt. However, it is clear that the amount offered in kind or money was fixed for each festival as no change is seen. Therefore presenting each sheet would be an unnecessary repetition. In the document given below the basic sheet used is of the year *Samvat* 1997 (1940 CE), and the information has been added to it from other sheets where found wanting or if any additional information existed in other sheets.

Translation
Oṃ. Śrī Samvat 1995. Written on 1 *Vaiśākha* of *Samvat* 1995 (1938) the account of *sadā vrat* (the perennial vow to make provision for) due to Charpaṭnāth of traditional *uddāba* (literally, cess) from Śrī Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa jī (*dī tarfā kach uddābe dā sadā brata Śrī Charbaṭnāthe jī kī mildā*). This forms a share of the traditional prerogative of Charpaṭnāth, as has been a practice in vogue always.

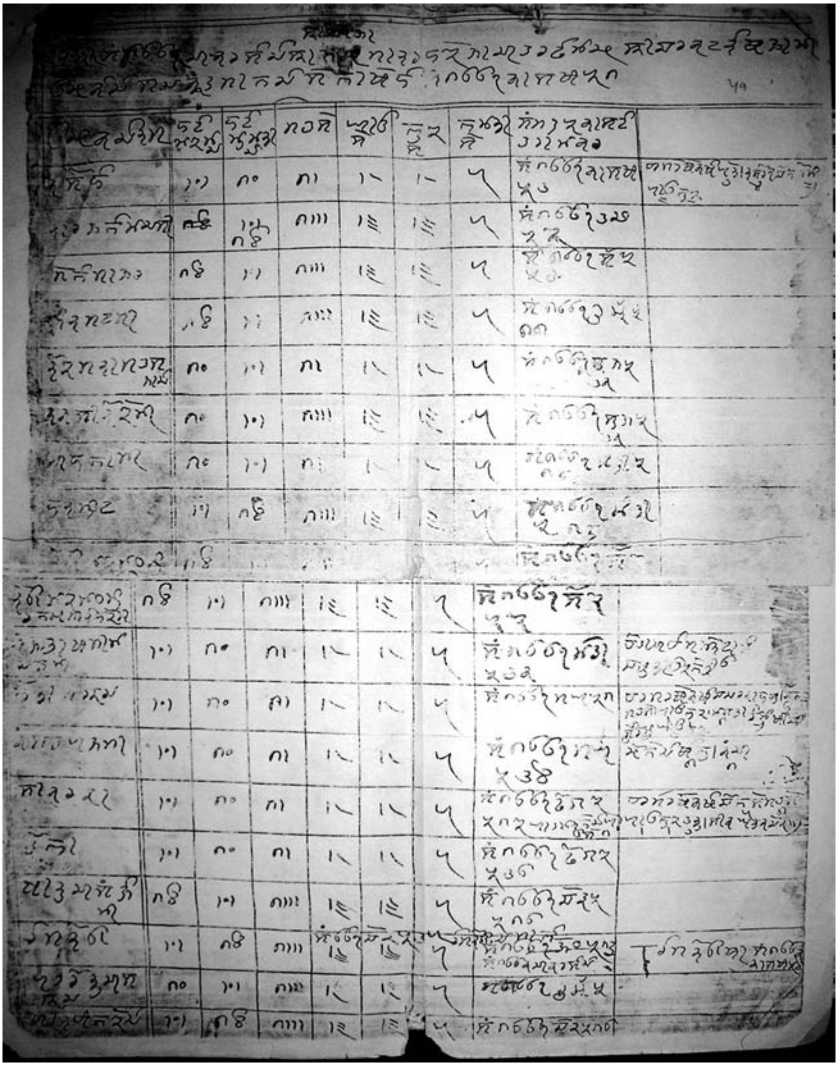


Figure 4.IV.6a Proceeds from Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa on Festive Occasions (joint two halves of the account sheet, 1997)

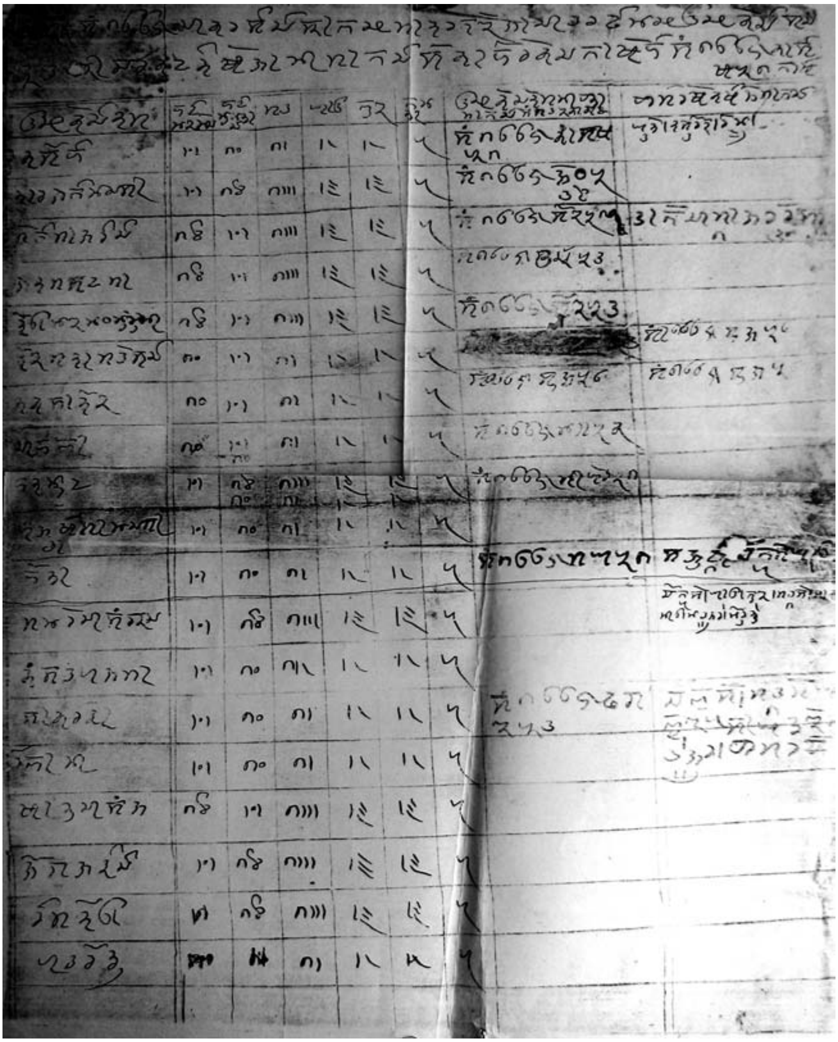


Figure 4.IV.6b Proceeds from Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa on Festive Occasions (joint two lower halves of the account sheet, 1997)

Festival	*Wheat flour* M/S	*Maize flour* M/S	*Dāl-Māśa* S	*Ghee* S	*Salt* S	*Wood* Re-A-P	*Samvat 1997–98* Year	*Praviśṭhe*	*Lunar Month*
Basoā[93]	1.1	10	1.1/4	5	5	0–5–0	1939	1	*Vaiśākha*
Rāma Noīṇ	1.1	14	1.3/4	7	7	0–5–0	1939	12	*Jeṭha*
Nirjala Ekādaśī[94]	1.1	14	1.3/4	7	7	0–5–0	1940	24	*Jeṭha*
Minjara Fair	14	1.1	1.3/4	7	7	0–5–0	1940	17	*Sauṇ*
Janamaṣṭamī	14	1.1	1.3/4	7	7	0–5–0	1937	4	*Bhādroṇ*
Patroḍū dī Sakarāṇd	10	1.1	1.3/4	5	5	0–5–0	1939	5	*Bhādroṇ*
Durvāśā Ṛṣī dā Nahoṇa	10	1.1	1.1/4	7	7	0–5–0	1938		*Sūja*
New wheat harvest to Ṭhākur	14	1.1	1.3/4	7	7	0–5–0	1940	1	*Sūja*
Maṇimaheśa Nahoṇa	14	1.1	1.1/4	5	5	0–5–0	1939	26	*Sūja*
Return from Maṇimaheśa	10	1.1	1.1/4	5	5	0–5–0	1940	9	*Sūja*
Divālī	1.1	10	1.1/4	5	5	0–5–0	1940	6	*Kātī*
Annakuṭa	1.1	14	1.3/4	7	7	0–5–0	1939	18	*Kātī*
Pañca Bhiśam Ekādaśī	1.1	10	1.1/4	5	5	0–5–0	1939	26	*Kātī*
Lohrī Sakrāṇd	1.1	10	1.1/4	5	5	0–5–0	1939	1	*Māgh*
Makra Sakrāṇd[95]	1.1	14	1.3/4	7	7	0–5–0	1940	1	
Basant Pañcamī	1.1	10	1.1/4	5	5	0–5–0	1939	4	*Māgh*
Śivarātrī	1.1	10	1.1/4	5	5	0–5–0	1939	3	*Phaggaṇa*
Holī	1.1	10	1.1/4	5	5	0–5–0	1939	13	*Caitra*
Khinnu dā Sañja	14	1.1	1.3/4	7	7	0–5–0	1939	19	*Caitra*
Joga Jātrā dā	1.1	14	1.3/4	7	7	0–5–0	1923	13	*Caitra*

93 Vaisākhī in Panjab.

94 The festival of ritual cleansing and fasting, falling in the summer months of Jyeṣṭha, was quite popular by CE 1446. Charitable acts were also performed on this occasion. According to the "Samgrama Varman's grant to Badu Legha" of 1446, "on the occasion of *Udyāpana* (successful termination of the fast) gifts of land were made." *Antiquities*, I, insp. no. 7, pp. 34–36. Similarly, Mahārāṇī Sampurna Devī, the queen of Mahārājā Anand Varman, on the occasion of *Ekādaśī Udyāpana* donated paddy land to Brāhmaṇas in 1480s, "Chambā Plate of Anand Varman," *Antiquities*, I, insp. no. 10, pp. 41–43, IHHPPKAHT, insp. no. 75, pp. 291–3.

95 Makra Saṃkrāntī was of special importance in the hills of Chambā. In 1575 on Makra Saṃkrāntī, or the hibernal solstice, Mahārājā Pratapsimha Varman donated a *hastodaka*-rent free grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa with the "proper ceremony of libation of water," "Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Temple Plate of Pratapsimha, Śastra 51," *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 21 and 22, pp. 59–63; also, CBSMC, B-17 and B-18, p. 9.

Continuation of the above table:

Festival	*Month*	*Remarks*
Basoā	*Vaiśākha*	*Dharmārth*: *Ghee 2ānnā*; *nasraon*[96] rice 4S; *Rokā*[97] 2 *ānnā*; 2 pitchers; salt 1 *Ānnā*
Rāma Noīṇ	*Jeṭha*	1 *chole* (chick-peas) *dā thaḷū*
Nirjala Ekādaśī	*Jeṭha*	From *Koṭhī*: 1 *Sardeī dā loṭṭā*; 2 *Pārū*
Minjara Fair	*Sauṇ*	1 *tille dī Minjara*; *Reśmī* 2
Janamaṣṭamī	*Bhādron*	Grams 3 plates; 1 *Devī dā thāla; Naivaidā thaḷū* 1; rice plates 3; *Būṅdī 1maṇa*; 3 *Būṇḍī Bhoga dā bhata*; 4 plates
Patroḍū dī Sakarāṇḍ	*Bhādroṇ*	2 *Patroḍū ḍūne lucī wāḷe*; 2 *Patroḍū nāḷe*
Durvāśā Ṛṣī dā Nahoṇa	*Sūja*	
New wheat harvest to Ṭhākur	*Sūja*	
Maṇimaheśa Nahoṇa	*Sūja*	
Return from Maṇimaheśa	*Sūja*	
Divālī	*Kātī*	3 *Ānnā* cotton for lamps; *Dharmārth*: fresh rice from new harvest 20 *Paisā; bhoga thāla*;
Annakuṭa	*Kātī*	
Pañca Bhiśam Ekādaśī	*Kātī*	*Dhotī* and *ṭikkā* for *Cakhunḍī* 12 *ānnā*
Lohrī Sakrāṇḍ	*Māgh*	1 Shawl; *Dāl-Māśa* S; *Ghee* S; Salt S; *Khichaḍī Rokā* 1 *Ānnā* 1 *Kangaḍī; Rokā* 1 *ānnā*;
Makra Sakrāṇḍ		5S Rice; 1S *Ghee*; 1S *Dāl-Māśa*; *Rokā* 8 *Ānnā; Kauranḍū* 2
Basant Pañcamī	*Māgh*	1 plate of Rice; 1 *Būṇḍī*; *Kamle dā ghee*
Śivarātrī	*Phaggan*	*Dharmārth*: 5S Rice; 1S *Dāl-Māśa*; 1S *Ghee*; 1S Salt; 3 handū (earthen pot); 8 *Ānnā* for Śiva *Dhadan*; 1S *Kamle da Ghee*
Holī	*Caitra*	3 plates of rice; *Nasraon* rice; 3 *Pārū*; *Hajjar* (or *hāzir* or *nazrāna*) 8 *Ānnā*
Khinnu dā Sañja Joga Jātrā dā	*Caitra*	

[96] *Nasraon* or *nasraīṅ* was given as a gift (*mansasa*) to the officiating priest on various occasions including *rite-de-passage*, ceremonies and festivities. On occasions considered auspicious—such as festivities, marriage rituals, birthdays, etc.—along with rice of varying quantity (four seers in this case), jaggery (since replaced by processed sugar) and money as *rokā*, made the gift. On occasions considered inauspicious, such as death rites, *piṇḍa dāna* (rice balls to manes) the rice was supplemented by pulses (like Māśa) and money. *Nasraon* was the right of the priest officiating and an obligatory, though not a fixed, payment over and above the *dakṣiṇā* or the sacrificial fees was made for conducting the ritual.

[97] *Rokā* is the money donated for a particular ritual offering or ceremony. Literally, it is a 'stoppage' or contract money, to ensure that no other assignment is undertaken except for which the payment is received. It, however, did not constitute a fee. It rather supplemented the offerings made in kind, be they the sacrificial goat/sheep, rice, salt,

A Note to Expenditure

The documents in this section are representative and by no means exhaustive. Yet, they do provide us an idea of the ways in which the small shrines conducted various rituals and how the relationship between these small shrines and the bigger establishment like Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa worked. The records, presented above, give us an idea about the support structure that was provided to these small establishments and how small contributions, if seen in totality, helped in sustaining many such small places of faith. In spite of that, these small shrines were also supposed to spend on various ceremonials. Below is the account that the Jogī of Charpaṭ wrote in Urdu and was perhaps checked by the accountant defraying the *dharmārth*-religious endowment grants. From the look and the shape of the document, it appears as a copy, the original was perhaps submitted to the concerned authority. This, nevertheless, give us an idea about the expenditure incurred by the shrine of Charpaṭ during the three-week-long ceremonials, collectively called the Joga-Jātrā, (see Chapter 2) for which the small portal of Charpaṭ alone incurred the expenditure of about 788 Rupees and five Ānnās in 1938. The details are:

Bhog 211) rupees for Charpaṭnāth, for one year only (*varṣa ika vāste*), according to the money donated as per old records (*purāne kāghaz maujab*)

106–2) spent on the occasion of night long vigil (*jāgaran*) kept during the celebrations of Śivarātrī falling on Caitra 1 (*parviṣṭhe* or date).

Caitra 1: The money spent, and to beget, during the Joga Jātrā:

Caitra 1 The money spent for welcoming the Joga Jātrā (*laine dā kharcā*) which shall depart (*jāgam*) on *parviṣṭhe*-date 20 Rs. 192) 11)

Caitra 30, money spent at the end of the Sukrāt Joga Jātrā

Rāchaḍa dā kharcā or expenditure on…

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or other offerings in kind. It was a customary obligatory payment, made according to one's affordability. In these documents the *rokā* is in terms of Paisā, few Ānnās and even in Rupees, though here it is perhaps obligatory and fixed amount of money. Chhabra translates it as a provision made in 'cash.'

The earliest reference to *rokā* is the payment of two *ṭaṅkās* along with the payment in kind made by Mahārājā Pratapsimha Varman to Bhatta Bhaganu to perform for him two *havana* and tell four *mālā*-rosaries in his name. "Drabila Grant of Pratapsimha Varman, Śastra 58," *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 24, p. 70, l.10, tr. p. 71.

126) for all girls in the educational institutions (*madarse*)

6) for the musicians

5) for getting utensils

10) as labour charges for cleaning the floor after serving food

[On the left margin a quick calculation (probably done by the person to whom this account was given. His noting is in English, which would suggest (though may not necessarily be so) that he did not read Urdu, the language in which the above accounts were written and, therefore, he made the calculations given below. The calculations do not match entirely with what is given above. So, there must be something that was orally explained and accounted for.]

211–0–0
33–2–0
192–11–0
23–8–0

Total: 460–5–0
Add: 106–2–0
Total: 566–7–0
Add: 200–14–0
6–0–0
5–0–0
10–0–0

"Grand Total": 788–5–0

4.V
Legality and Rights: Claims to Land, Cultural Cess and Priesthood

The documents presented here have legal concerns and are addressed to the Rājā of Chambā, from whom the grants of rights could be extracted or validated, and who was also the final juridical arbiter. At this time, the criminal and civil courts were located in the capital and were presided over by Judges with 'first class magisterial powers',

who were appointed by the Rājā.[98] There was, nevertheless, a definitive magisterial hierarchy defining the extent of the juridical power vested in a particular court. For instance the *Chambā State Gazetteer of 1904* mentions Lālā Karam Chand and Jai Dayāl as the 'Judges of Small Cause Courts' with their power to fine not exceeding Rs. 50, who adjudicated petty criminal cases carrying sentence of not more than three months. The 3rd class magistrate, also carrying the functions of *Munsif*, who was the chief revenue officer as well, could inflict a fine up to Rs. 500. In the judicial hierarchy, the 2nd class Magistrate and *Munsif* and the Principal Judicial Officer carrying the functions and power of the 2nd class Magistrate and *Munsif* superseded him. Capital punishment could be inflicted only by the Rājā, subject to the confirmation by the Commissioner of Lahore.[99] The cases were tried according to the Indian Penal Code, including both the Codes of Criminal and Civil Procedure, which was enforced in the Chambā state.[100] There was, however, also a provision concerning 'personal law' that accorded primacy to the 'customary'. The conception of 'customary' law in turn became a category of social analysis that was appropriated to underscore the legitimacy of the 'institution' and its claim to power through 'imperial' linkages and not the 'authority' of 'tradition' or the Rājā. A wedge was, thus, created between the authority that the Rājā wielded and which was legitimised both by the dynastic tradition and the colonial state, and the power that was the function of the colonial institutions which was forced upon Chambā.

The legal documents presented in this section are in the collection of the Mahant of the portal of Charpaṭnāth in Chambā. These are in Urdu language using Arabic-Persian script as was used for all official purposes by the 'natives'. These documents scrupulously detail the dates, numbers, witnesses, evidence, and the charges, for instance the 'Indian Penal Code act (*dafā*) 76 of the Evidence Act of 1872.' This is in stark contrast to the documents of 1850s, before the colonial institutions were enforced in Chambā. The final court of appeal was, however, presided over by the Rājā himself. The seals affixed in the documents testify that the Rājā as the final court of justice styled himself as the 'Chief Judicial

[98] G. C. Parsons, *Gazetteer of the Chamba State, 1904*, pp. 262, 267.
[99] Ibid. pp. 266–7.
[100] *Gazetteer of the Chamba State, 1904*, p. 267.

Officer of the Riyāsat of Chambā'. In this section all the documents—orders and petitions presented—were made in the 1920s and 1940s, except for two revenue documents, which date to the 1960s—after Chambā ceased to be a royal state, and became a part of the Union of India as one of the districts of Himachal Pradesh.

These documents are also a window onto the relationship between an individual and the state—characterised by the duality of 'native rule' and 'imperial structure', the 'authority' of Rājā and the 'power' of the colonial structure. The legal system also substantiated such a duality, as Washbrook argues, that sustained the 'traditional' while encouraging 'free market relations'.[101] The land settlement regime was one such instrument that secured the dominant local bonds by recognising the politico-religious landed relationship, while creating a class of ownership that could trade in land as a commodity. The 'commodification' of land enhanced the traditional association of prestige, honour and power with land. Instead of the Rājā distributing such an honour, now individuals vied to safeguard and enhance their 'prestige' by its marketability and manipulation. These documents provide a glimpse into the mechanism by which the status change was achieved by manipulating the settlement regime and the judicial process. Economic empowerment is, however, not the only concern; there are other documents claiming the ritual and social status that could only be authorised by the Rājā—the bearer and protector of the 'tradition'.

Problematic Rights: Ritual Performance and 'Religious Cess'

In 1913, the civil court of Chambā resolved an interesting case involving the rights to donations in a ritual performance by the contesting Jogīs. It seems that the Jogīs of Chambā tried to appropriate the ritual rights in Chambā that earlier belonged to the family of other Jogīs (Ṭhiṭholi in this case). In a certain sense, while the court upheld the boundaries of 'ritual performance' to a family of performers (that is hereditary), it decreed that irrespective of the performer, the claim to donations made by the people was an inalienable right of an individual as wages to the service rendered (Document V.1). While the court secured the 'livelihood' and 'wages', the Charpaṭ Jogīs had interfered to augment their prestige by controlling and contesting the hereditary 'performative'

[101] David Washbrook, "Law, State and Agrarian Society in Colonial India," *Modern Asian Studies*, 15 (3) 1981, pp. 635–54.

rights. Obviously, there was strife and tension within the sectarian community of the Jogīs. To arrest the mischief of the Charpaṭī Jogīs, the court favoured the contesting Jogīs (Thitholi), upholding their hereditary rights as:[102]

> Our considered view is that the right over the donations made at the *Nawāḷā*…is that of the respondent (Charpaṭī Jogī) because he went there on invitation and performed the *Nawāḷā* rituals as is customary. However, hence after this shall not be his right and that none shall interfere in the performance of the *Nawāḷā* rituals in the town except the appellant (Thitholi) because we have come to know that the appellant has been earning through the performance of the *Nawāḷā* rituals in the township.

The lawsuit again came up in a different incarnation in 1915 and 1925, and it seems that the litigation over ritual rights and jurisdiction between the contestants was noxious in-between this period as well. In this case the geographical boundary of the ritual performers was delineated.[103]

> …the respondent has been instructed not to appropriate the right of the appellant. The respondent has earned this (particular) *Nawāḷā*; it is therefore, rightfully his. However, if he does so in the future, the appellant is empowered to sue him on the count of contempt of court (*dāwah fazāh*).

The contesting Jogīs could perform the *Nawāḷā* ritual, the bone of contention, in the Chambā town only and other Jogīs, including the Jogīs of Charpaṭ were free to perform elsewhere. Apart from the question of rights of an individual to ritual from a particular performer, the case also brings into focus the caste and sectarian practice vis-à-vis the priests and their rights. It upholds the prerogative of the 'community' over that of an individual; of hereditary rights over individual rights; of cultural continuity over change. The judge also opined that:[104]

> From investigation (*tehkīkāt hāl*) it is evident that the respondent, Madho, has been performing the *Nawāḷā* ritual and has not committed

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[102] Copy of the Final Orders of the Highest Court of His Highness (*Nakal Hukum Tajviz Faisla Ākhir Ujjalāsa Janāb*) Śṛmān Rājā Sāhib Bahādur, *Riyāsat* Chambā, 1913, in Ṭhiṭholi, son of Situ, caste Jogī, resident of parganā Bhaṭṭiyāt. Plaintiff (*Muddai ālaha*) versus (*banām*) Mādho, son of Śyamā, caste Jogī, resident of Chambā respondent.

[103] Copy of the Final Orders of the Court of the Chief Judicial Officer Sahib, *Riyāsat* Chambā Civil suit (*Muqadamā Diwānī*) Appeal No. 65, 1925, in Thitholi, son of Situ, caste Jogī, resident of Mohallā Drubhi, Chambā town, Appellant, Versus Mādho, son of Śyamā, caste Jogī, resident of Chambā; and Nanaku, son of Maffal, caste Khatri, resident of Chambā town, respondents.

[104] Idem.

> any crime in doing so. We have ascertained this from the people of the town and caste members. We have ascertained that within the township it is indeed the right of the appellant but outside the town anyone can call any person for performance.

The question, moreover, is if the Jogīs of Charpaṭ and for that matter other Jogīs as well could perform the ritual. According to the earlier documents available in the collection of the Mahant, the state only required the Jogīs of Charpaṭ to ritually worship Mahākālī (Badrakālī of *vaṃśavalī*) for which it provided them a grant of *Mangaṇī-muafī* on every harvest or a tax free grant in kind from various maintenance grants.[105] Besides, they received a certain fixed amount of food-grain and provisions as maintenance every month, along with a fixed share from the proceeds of temples such as Campāvatī (Mahiṣāsuramardinī) and Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa in Chambā.[106] Moreover, at the end of each harvest the Jogīs of all the *marhīs* contributed fixed tribute in grain, livestock, forest produce and cash to the Charpaṭ Jogīs. Thus, the Jogīs accepted the ritual leadership of the Mahants of Charpaṭ within the sectarian confines. What he refused to accept was the ritual role of an individual outside the sectarian confines, as the performance of *Nawāḷā* had little to do with the sectarian practice, but was a popular cultural-religious offering to Śiva prevalent in the society across the sectarian divide. Thus, within the confines of the Nāth-Siddha sectarian rituals, neither the Charpaṭ Jogīs nor the contesting Jogīs could perform such rituals as *Nawāḷā*.

The *Nawāḷā* is an offering made to Śiva in his local form as Dhūḍu, and the ritual performer entered into trance, possessed, as it were, by Dhūḍu (see also, 4.III). The trance possession was considered auspicious and was accompanied by a ritual sacrifice of ram or goat, which was also a part of the feast made over to all the participants/devotees by the house conducting this ritual. While the performer was in trance, the devotees took the opportunity to ask personal questions about the present and future maladies afflicting them, for which they made sumptuous donations. Obviously this was a lucrative arrangement for the ritual performer. This ritual of Śiva was popular in the Chambā state.

[105] The grants made to the Jogīs of Charpaṭ by Rāj Singh, Ajit Singh, Charhat Singh and Sri Singh, all rulers of Chambā, explicitly states this. The grant deeds are in the collection of the Mahant of Charpaṭ in Chambā.

[106] The account sheets of the portal of Charpaṭ for 1880–95 clearly pronounce this, providing graphic details of the proceeds made over to the shrine.

In areas like Bhramaur and Churah, the ritually low-caste specialists like Sippis and Halis performed the ritual. It may be pointed out that the householder Jogīs too belonged to the ritually low castes. Thus, the 'appropriation' of ritual performance was not only among the Jogīs but was also a contest among various castes that competed for this special performance. Naturally, regardless of sectarian and caste boundaries, famous exemplars who had a track record of approximate predictions along with performance precision, were more in demand. Obviously, the Jogīs missed out in competition and, therefore, tried to win the performance through litigation. It may be surmised that the upholding of the 'ritual rights' of the contesting Jogīs in the Chambā township, not only complicated the 'leadership' role of the Charpaṭ Mahants but also shut the doors to other performers, both Jogīs and of other castes, within the circumference of the Chambā township.

Meanwhile, in 1922, Madho Cārī, son of Jogī Shyama, who was the priest of the portal of Charpaṭ, also petitioned the Rājā of Chambā to grant him the right to collect a *Ṭakkā* (a Rupee) per house from the subjects of the state as a 'sectarian due' (religious cess?). He claimed that his ancestors were authorised to make such a collection by Mahārājā Jeet Singh (1794–1808), and that he had personally collected the amount for a while. Interestingly, he uses the word 'company' to describe himself as a collector of this 'cess'. He wanted the restoration of his 'right', since people had stopped paying.[107] Both these cases, seeking enhanced ritual status and its authorisation by the defunct Rājā, came up almost simultaneously. It seems that this was a well-thought-out strategy by

[107] Petitions demanding the right to make such collections are common, particularly at a time of transition from one system of governance to another. For instance, immediately after colonial rule was asserted in Kāngrā, the *purohit*-priests corporation of the Jvālāmukhī shrine—consisting of twenty-two families—petitioned the new administration, contesting and asserting their rights to donations made by the royal family besides the gold donated to the temple by the pilgrims. The petition, perhaps, was motivated by the fact that the donations to the temple were earlier appropriated by the Katoch rulers and later the Sikhs as the property of the state, except for the donation made by the royal family and the personal offerings made by the pilgrims to individual priests. The colonial rule, however, did not appropriate any such share, leaving it to be distributed among the corporate along with the *bhojakī* priests, who offered temple services and were inferior in status and ritual hierarchy to the *purohits*. The *purohit* corporate alleged that the *bhojakī* priests had already appropriated considerable amount of gold (two gold canopies worth 1600 Rupees and 66 *tolas*—799gms—gold) offered to the temple. Document no III, in B. N. Goswamy, "Documents from Three Pahari Temples," in A. Ray, H. Sanyal, S. C. Ray, eds., *Indian Studies: Essays Presented in Memory of Prof. Niharranjan Ray*, Delhi, n. d., pp. 256–57.

the manipulative priest of the shrine, Jogī Madho Cārī, perhaps to deflect the attention from the challenge to his 'ritual leadership' by Jogī Thitholi.

The Jogī of Charpaṭ, Madho Cārī, was a clever man. He was an official of the Chambā state as is evident from the title 'Cārī'. This however, is not a singular instance where the professional category has been used as a caste category (surname). In fact, the genealogy attached to the revenue records of the Charpaṭ Jogīs specifies 'Jogī' as a caste name and Sirohā as their *gotra* (clan), a fact also stated in all the documents and charters pertaining to these Jogīs. None but Madho Cārī, however, used this title as the surname.[108] Cāra was one of the oldest administrative offices in Chambā and was perhaps an administrator of parganā along with holding the judicial powers to inflict fine or imprisonment. By 1904, however, the European Superintendents withdrew these powers. The Cārī now made preliminary investigations in the civil and criminal cases and apprehended criminals for trial in Chambā. Subsequently, the office of Cāra was reduced to carrying out the orders of the central authority and organising forced labour (providing coolies) for European travellers.[109] They received no salary for their office but collected certain emoluments called *rakam* over and above the revenue demand, forming a separate charge of cash and kind on the *mālguzār* or taxpayer. Of the total *rakam*, each officer paid a fixed sum to the state as a customary tax or *bāch*. The state in turn provided them with food, free of charge.[110] Apparently, the going by 1904 was tough and the priest, who combined his experience of revenue and judicial procedure, tried to augment his income by ritual performance and later thought of demanding a 'cess' legitimised by invoking an earlier grant. The grant made by Ajit Singh to the Jogīs of Charpaṭ, invoked by Madho Cārī, however, made no such concession. It offered only an annuity of Rs. 25, which was also granted by his successor Charhat Singh (1808–4) and Śrī Singh (1844–70).[111] In fact there was no such grant that offered the right to collect a 'religious cess' and this is the only time that such a reference is made. Obviously

[108] Not only the documents in the Charpaṭ Mahant's collection point this out but also his son Baijnāth, the successor Mahant, whom I interviewed in 1992, confirmed this fact.

[109] *Gazetteer of the Chamba State, 1904,* p. 268.

[110] *Gazetteer of the Chamba State, 1904,* p. 265.

[111] Both the charters are in *Ṭākarī* script and Chambiyāḷī dialect, in possession of Charpaṭnāth's portal in Chambā. The late Jogī Baijnāth allowed access to these and other charters in his collection.

the Rājā, himself a nominal ruler with the larger powers exercised by the European Superintendents after 1863, dismissed the plea: "…we cannot force any one to contribute one *Ṭakkā*. It is the personal pleasure of a person to make such a contribution."

Economic Empowerment: Tenancy, Eviction and Land-ownership

While the Jogīs of Charpaṭ unsuccessfully tried to arrogate the ritual status as exclusive performers in the township of Chambā and to legitimise their special rights and position by claiming a 'religious cess' from the state subjects, they also litigated to appropriate land at various places from the professional and ritually low caste cultivator-tenants. In fact, Madho Jogī obtained ex-party decrees in his favour against two low caste tenants, of the barber profession and caste (*Nāī*) in Pihura parganā in 1925 (case nos. 438 & 439 both filed in 1923 and awarded in 1924); and a widow of a fellow Jogī member from Sarol in 1943 (case no. 200) along with costs of ten Rupees respectively in each case. All three ex-party decisions are significant as the tenants could ill-afford the cost of litigation and its wherewithal.

That this happened in 1923–25 confirms that it was a part of a wider strategy by the Jogīs aimed at social and economic empowerment. It must be pointed out that the colonial Superintendents made changes in the titular arrangement of land on the lines of the settlement in Panjāb (*Mahalbandī* or demarcating revenue estates) to leverage the collection in Chambā. These changes confirmed the dominance of the local magnates, both secular and religious, to appropriate them into the bureaucratic hierarchy that the colonial administration desired. As in the Panjāb, land in Chamba was central to the conception of honour, status and brotherhood (*birādarī*).[112] The ownership provided both control and status. In 1874, Col. Blair Reid started the land registration settlement to finalise revenue collection. The old system of levying the *bāch* or cash and *sāl* or kind payments bi-annually, at the end of each harvest, was also 'partly' replaced by one of cash payments. Later, in 1891, formal revenue rates were fixed at four Rupees per acre on irrigated and two Rupees per acre on non-irrigated land respectively.[113] The settlement was resisted, for instance in 1895 in Bhaṭṭiyāt. As the

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[112] For Panjab see, R. G. Fox, *Kin, Clan, Rājā and Rule*, Berkeley, 1971.
[113] Negi, *Settlement Report of the Chamba*, no. 30, p. 13.

peasant unrest spread in the 1920s in Kāngrā, the fertile area of Bhaṭṭiyāt was affected. The fixed revenue, enhanced to Rs. 7.50 in 1910–11, was beyond the means of the occupant-cultivators or owners of marginal acreage. In many cases the tillers reclaimed the land from the owners on a long term basis on the surety of revenue payment. In fact, it was an accepted practice in Chambā, even by 1910, to cede land on a long term basis on the surety of revenue payment by the occupant-tenants. Occasionally, a Rupee or two was demanded as rent to assert the ownership rights (*haq mālikānā*), which was also upheld/imposed by the Court whenever such disputes came forth.[114] That the Jogīs could benefit from such an arrangement by using protracted revenue receipts, occupant status (*kābiz*) and the judicial process to their advantage underwrites the dexterity of Madho Cārī. It may be pointed out that the Jogīs, who were the members of the ritually low-castes in hierarchy, became the landed caste by such manipulation. Thus, when the First Regular Settlement of Chambā was initiated in 1951–58, the Jogīs (populated all through the erstwhile Chambā state) had a titular claim over 4494 *bighās* of land (one acre was about five standard *bighās* of land), about 0.04 per cent of the total area in the Chambā state. Out of this, 3466 *bighās* were cultivated, which was about 0.7 per cent of the total cultivated area in Chambā.[115] The land ownership estimates are besides their claims as *kāśtkārs* or tenants, the actual tillers of soil. Is it incidental that the family of Thitholi contested the 'ritual' leadership of the Charpaṭ Jogīs to whom they paid tribute in kind and cash at the end of each harvest belonged to the most fertile of the Chambā areas, the Bhaṭṭiyāt parganā.

After the death of Madho Cārī, his son, Baijnāth, became the priest of Charpaṭ and followed his father in creating a further interest in land that they were cultivators of. This is abundantly clear from the two documents illustrated below (I & II) from the First Regular Settlement of 1951–58.[116] Since the First Regular Settlement was made in 1951–58,[117]

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[114] *Gazetteer of the Chamba State, 1904,* p. 231.

[115] Negi, *Settlement Report of the Chamba*, table, no. 14, p. 11.

[116] T. S. Negi, *Settlement Report of the Chamba District (First Regular Settlement 1951–58)*, Simla, 1966.

[117] Notification by the chief commissioner, E. P. Moon, "whereas it appears that no proper records-of-rights exist for any estate in the whole of Chambā district, Himachal Pradesh, it is hereby directed, under section 32 (1) and (2) of the Punjab Land Revenue Act, as applied to Himachal Pradesh that records- of rights for all estates of the said district be made." Vide no. R. 38–29/48, dated, 17 January, 1951, Simla-4. Notification

the issue of settling rights and titles (*tankīhat-i-haqua*) was arduous, particularly when there was scant or ill-prepared earlier record. Thus, 48,565 issues were settled in the first settlement.[118] Since the previous record was treated as a 'record of a summary settlement', mutation[119] procedure was necessitated and 27,690 mutation cases were settled.[120] This had a bearing on the process by which an interest in land was furthered by the Jogīs of Charpaṭ.

The cultivators, in this case Charpaṭ Jogī Baijnāth, were shown as having *murūsī* or transferable rights, perhaps since 1874, when the first limited settlement was executed. Prior to the first settlement, their rights over the land were non-transferable occupancy or *ghair-murūsī*. Thus, a permanent interest of cultivators was created over the land that they tilled by manipulating this title. Revenue was fixed at the rate of Rs. 18.75, which was revised in 1890 and 1911–12 to Rs. 3/acre and further Rs. 7.50/hectare. Interestingly, the land that the Jogīs thus received, as in the two cases produced below beside others, was further sublet, while retaining the status of the occupant-tenant as *khudkāśt* or self-tiller. This was to obviate any further alienation of land from non-tilling owners (absent landlords) to the cultivators, as is evident from both the cases.[121]

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for re-assessment of land revenue of Chambā under section 49(2) of the Punjab Land Revenue Act, vide no. R. 38–29/48, dated, 17 January, 1951, Simla-4.

[118] Negi, *Settlement Report of the Chamba*, no. 48, p. 18.

[119] 'Mutations' is a term used in the land settlement process that allows an alteration in the 'title' of the landed possession after the first assessment or *bandobast*. According to T. S. Negi, the Chief Settlement Officer, the mutation work was necessitated by:

A) changes that occurred or that were discovered after the settlement of issues of titles.
B) doubtful alienations entailing enquiries needing to much time for the speed at which the issues of titles had to be settled; and
C) changes that took place after the Naib-Tehsildar's (the Deputy-Revenue Officer of the concerned 'revenue circle') final attestations.

Negi attests that in the settlement of Chambā while the 'mutations' under A and B were incorporated into the standing record, those under classification C were incorporated in the subsequent *Jāmābandis* or assessments.

Negi, *Settlement Report of the Chamba*, no. 72, p. 22.

[120] Negi, *Settlement Report of the Chamba*, no. 72, p. 22.

[121] Also for general information, Rajwant Sandhu, *First Regular Settlement of Dalhousie in Tehsil Bhattiyat*, report, 1983–87.

I: Mauza Bhanauta[122] Parganā Udaipur
Village Kuthala *Khasrā* No. 626 *Khewat* 68

Owner: Vastu son of Gopalu. *Murūsī* or transferred to Baijnāth son of Mādho Cārī, caste Jogī, Saroha, resident of Chambā.
Kāśtkār or cultivator: Ramu son of Naranjanu, caste Dreha, residents of Deh. Tenancy, non-ownership/ based on sharecropping, *gallā-baṭāī*,[123] to the tune of ¼, fourth of the productivity.

Area: 5–9 five Kanāl and nine marlā, *awwal bārānī*, or non-irrigated rain-fed land of top order.

Cropping:

11–10–1955	Maize	5–9 i.e. in the entire area
3–5–1956	Uncultivated	5–9 i.e. one crop a year
2–11–1956	Maize	5–9
5–5–1957	Uncultivated	5–9
13–10–1957	Dāla-Māśa[124]	2–9
13–4–1958	Uncultivated	3–00
11–10–1958	Dāla-Māśa	2–9
	Uncultivated	3–00

Revenue Khewat 68

Māmalā or Rent	Rs. 3.68
Sawāī (fourth)	Rs. 9.00
Mīzān or Cess	Rs. 4.68

Khewat 115 *Khatauni* 181

II: Owner: Madhav Neel Kanth transferred to *Kāśtkār* or the cultivator, Baijnāth son of Madho Cārī, caste Nāth

Tenants: Ramu son of Niranjanu of village Deh, non-transferable or *ghair-murūsī*. Tenancy on share-cropping basis at the rate of the fourth of total productivity.

[122] The receipts of Baijnāth, the Jogī of Charpaṭnāth, based on the *Jāmābandī* or Settlement Records of 1964–65.

[123] Also called the *bahisa-nisfi* as well as *gharh*. In revenue terms this meant collection of "rent in kind at the rate of half the produce." T. S. Negi, *First Regular Settlement of Chamba District 1951–58*, a report, 1966, p. 63. Obviously, there was variance with local practices or arrangements, as indicated in the rent demanded to be quarter of the productivity in this particular case.

[124] The black gram, *Phaseolus radiatus*.

Khitta 8
Area 9–9 or nine Kanāl and nine marlā out of which 5–3 is paddy irrigated and 4–3 is rain fed

Revenue	Rs. 10.36
Māla or rent	Rs. 8.28
Cess	Rs. 2.06

Khasrā No. 166

Area	5–9 rain-fed, five Kanāl
Rent	Rs. 2.49
Cess	Rs. 2.49

The differential rents realised in the first case and the type of soil-irrigation classification in revenue records, as in case two, had a bearing on revenue assessed. The settlement was designed to classify cultivated land according to its broad soil-type and irrigation facilities.[125] The second part of the above revenue documents underlines the share of the produce arrived at between the owner and the tenant. For the most part of Chambā's recorded history, the produce-rent arrangement between owner and tenant was popular, though by the turn of the 20th century cash-rent was gaining ascendancy. The most general form of the produce-rent was *gāhr* that consisted of an equal division of the produce, of every kind, between the owner and the tenant. However, pilferage was always alleged in this arrangement and the yield disputed. Hence, a small adjustment in the arrangement was made, called *muddā*,

[125] Thus, *dhānī-i-awwal* was the irrigated land producing generally two crops (the *kharīf* crop usually being paddy) and was climatically fully suitable for paddy cultivation. The second category of irrigated land (*dhānī-i-doem*) was also irrigated and paddy producing but due to the inadequate irrigation facilities or 'unsuitable' climate, as in the midland belt (*majaiṭh*), had lower productivity. Similarly, *dhānī-i-soem* or the third quality produced only one crop of paddy. There were however, other irrigated lands where rice was not the main or *kharif* crop, following a similar tripartite classification as *kulahu-i-awwal, doem* and *soem*. In the rain-dependant or non-irrigated typology there was a similar triplet: *bārānī-i-awwal, doem* and *soem*. The first category was of the rain-dependant land situated sufficiently near an *ābādī* or habitation to be sufficiently manured, thus producing two crops a year with the *kharif* crop being paddy. The use of manure from habitations meant that the distance of fields from habitation became the basis of rain-dependant land classification. Similarly, the uncultivated land was categorised as *banjar jadīd*, that which was under cultivation but left fallow for less than five year; *banjar qadīm*, fallow for more than five years; *callā*, uncultivated but a private grassland; *baṇī*, uncultivated but used to grow fodder leaves; *baṇa*, for grazing and forested produce; and *gahr/trākkar* used as meadows and forests. Negi, *Settlement Report of the Chamba*, nos. 8, I & II, pp. 6–8.

where the landowner received a fixed amount of produce irrespective of the harvest being plenty or bad.[126] In the case of Charpaṭ Jogīs the *gallā-baṭāī* or sharecropping, in one case, was fixed at the fourth of the land's productivity.

Both of these cases illustrate the *modus operandi* that established the interest of the Jogīs of Charpaṭ over these lands and the terms over which they further subleased. Thus, the Jogīs of Charpaṭ became the absentia cultivators and later the landowners. For this they had to evict their tenant. Interestingly, we have notices for these two lands, along with others, that Jogī Baijnāth issued to his tenant accusing him of not making over his share and fixing a date after which:[127]

> It would be in your best interest that you pay my share of both *Rabī* and *Kharīf* crops for the year 1967 within a week. Otherwise I shall be forced to demand rent (crop share) at the prevailing market price for both crops and file a land-eviction suit in court, with costs—as court fee, charges of lawyer, etc.—against you for which you alone shall be responsible.

The Jogī also threatened that: "You have no right to not to pay the *gallā-baṭāī* or the share fixed on the basis of share-cropping."[128] (Documents V.3 & V.4) In both the documents he gave the tenant, being the same person at different places, a week to transport his share, while taking care to register the notices, so as to fortify himself legally, creating significant legal evidence. The intent was obvious and the poor cultivators were evicted. Eviction was necessary for single ownership as the Jogīs themselves had transferred the land from the original owners on the plea that they were hereditary occupant cultivators. It must, however, be emphasised that land litigation was rather high during this period of transition after the merger of Chambā in 1948, the Jogīs being no exception. Between 1951 and 1963, about 21,801 disputes were addressed of which 1220 *muāfī* or tax exempted cases were settled from 1957 to 59, along with 183 revisions.[129]

The transition in landed arrangement, leading to the creation of proprietary rights, and the eviction from and appropriation of land, may be seen in the context of institutional change. In pre-Independence

[126] *Gazetteer of the Chamba State, 1904,* p. 230.

[127] Notice against Ramu, son of Rajanu, caste Dareha, of village Bhatala in parganā Udaipur, district of Chambā, December 27, 1967.

[128] Notice against Ramu, son of Naranjanu, caste Danehi, of village Shehnautā in parganā Udaipur, district of Chambā, December 26, 1967.

[129] Negi, *Settlement Report of the Chamba*, no. 136, p. 40.

Chambā, the Rājā was the theoretical 'owner' of all of the land—cultivated and uncultivated—from whom all 'rights' originated subject to his 'over-lordship and pleasure'. With the introduction of the settlement regime after 1874, initiated selectively in Chambā by liaising with the colonial settlement office at Kāngrā, the formalisation of private ownership increased. Nevertheless, the "inherent over-lordship of the ruler was never totally absent".[130] With the merger of the Chambā state into the union of India, the *mālguzārs* or the peasant-proprietors were, however, recognised as landowners.[131] The *mālguzārs* were those landholders who were responsible for the payment of the state demand. This arrangement, however, did not confer them full ownership rights. Besides, there was also a category of *adnā-māliks* or the 'inferior-owners', who were accorded full proprietary rights in the settlement. The *kāśtkārs*, the actual tillers, were 'legally recognised' tenants, who could acquire "ownership under certain conditions;" one being by proving their hereditary succession over land as the tillers over generations. Thus, the legal distinction between the 'occupancy tenants' and 'non-occupancy tenants'[132] acquire significance particularly in the context of eviction and ownership disputes, as in the case of the Jogīs of Charpaṭ.[133]

[130] Negi, *Settlement Report of the Chamba*, nos. 15, 16, p. 11.

[131] Communication of the Chief Commissioner to all Deputy Commissioners R-98–3/48, dated August 28, 1948.

[132] During the settlement, the tenures of all the tenants were classified into such categories as 'occupancy tenants' and 'non-occupancy tenants'. In simple terms, when a tenant could prove his hereditary right over the tenure, it was considered as an 'occupancy tenancy' and the tenant could not be evicted. However, when a tenant could not 'prove' such a succession, it was considered as 'non-occupancy tenancy' and the 'tenant' tilled at the pleasure of the owner who could evict him. The 'occupancy tenancy', thus, was legally recognised, while the 'non-occupancy tenancy' had no legal sanction and the tenant, therefore, did not enjoy legal protection. Negi, *Settlement Report of the Chamba*, no. 73, p. 23.

[133] Negi, *Settlement Report of the Chamba*, no. 73, pp. 22–23.

Document No. V.1
Petition for the Collection of Religious Cess

Transcription
(Legal Document in Urdu)[134]

Bā Hazoor Faiz Manzoor Janāb Śrī Mahārājā Sāhīb Bahādur Vāliye Riyāsat Chambā

Janāb-ī-ālī

Mahdabana ghuzariśa hai ki fidavī Charpaṭnāth kā puzāri hai. Fidavī ko Mahārājā Jeet Singh Sāhib ke vaqt se aik paṭṭā ināyat kiyā gayā huā hai jismaiṅ aik ṭakkā fī ghar tamām riyāsat main vasool karne kā hukam diyā gayā hu'ā hai. Fidavī ke bāp dādā qadīm se aik ṭakkā fī ghar vasool karte cale ā'ye haiṅ aur Company ne bhī kuch arsā ṭakkā vasool kiyā hai. Ab kuch arsā se riyāsat hazā ne yeh ṭakkā denā baṅd kar diyā hai aur kehte haiṅ ki sarkār kā koī hukam ṭakkā dene kā nahīṅ hai. Is liye bajariyā durkhāst ghuzariśa hai ki tehkikāt hokar purane ke mutabik ṭakkā vasool karne kī insāf sunāyā jāye aur paṭṭā bhī tabdīl kiyā jave. Arz hai āge sarkār mālik hai. Tehīr 2 Sāvan 1982.

Fidavi Mādho vald Śyāmā Kaum Jogī
Signed in Ṭakarī: Mādho

215/ Nihālū Rām

Hukam:

Paiśa ho kar hukam hu'ā hai ki ham is bāre maiṅ kisī ko ṭakkā dene ke liye majboor nahīṅ kar sakte haiṅ. Jo khuśī se detā hai deve. Hamārā is se koi talluk nahīṅ hai. Darkhāst khārij kī aur sayāl ko vāpis kī jāve. Tehrīr 26 Sāvan 1982.

Signed in English: Ram Singh

[134] Such petitions were common, written in chaste Persian; the *iltimās*, for instance, by the *Bhojakī*-priests of the Vajreśvarī Devī to the Mughal governor of Kāngrā, Khalīl Ullah Khān, around 1719. Much like this petition they sought permission to collect one '*Bahlūli-i-Ālamgirī*' (equivalent to the *Paisā* or *dāma*) from every pilgrim. In order to bolster their claim, they too invoked the past precedent (*az qadīm ul-ayyām*). The only difference being that the sovereign ruler, perhaps, allowed this collection "according to the regulations." B. N. Goswamy and R. I. Malhotra, "An Early Eighteenth Century Document from Kāngrā," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 93 (2), pp. 203–06.

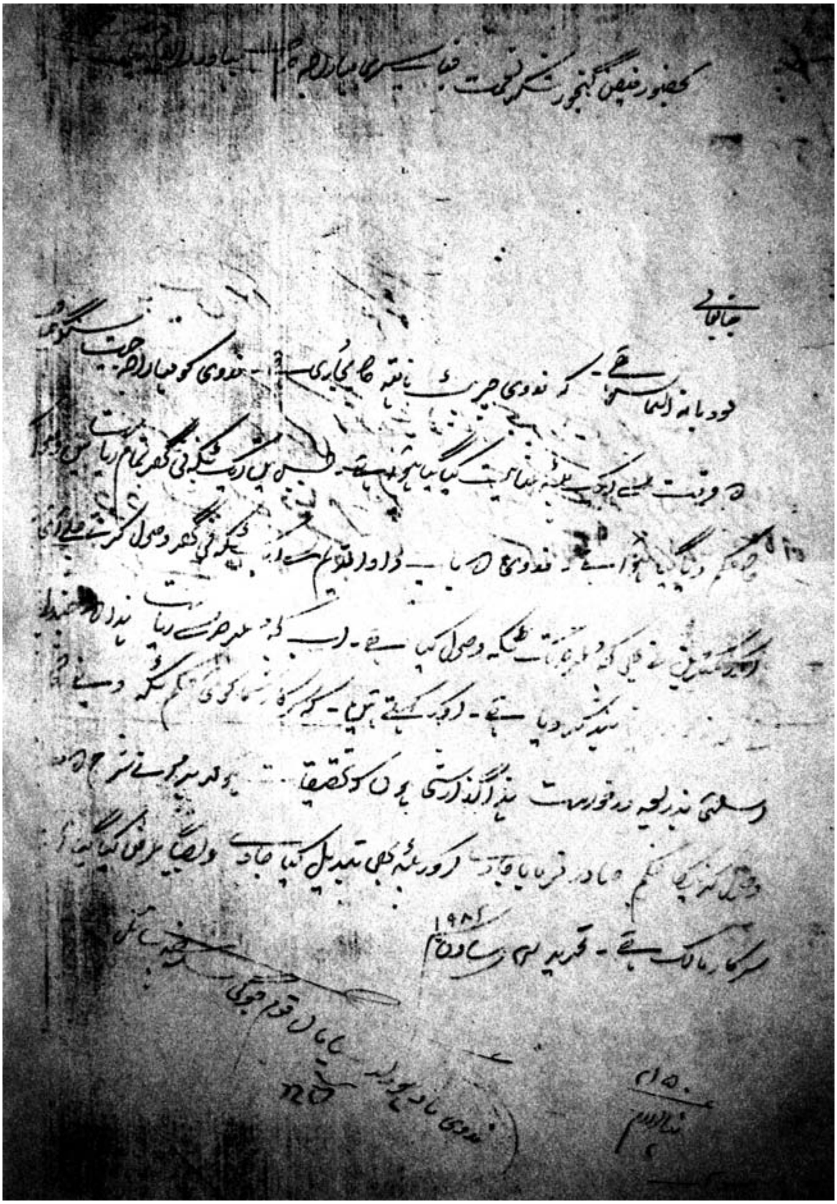


Figure 4.V.1a Petition for the Collection of Religious Cess

Translation

Your highness
Humbly submitted that the appellant is the priest of the portal of Charpaṭnāth in Chambā. The appellant is fortunate to have received a grant-*paṭṭā* from the times of Śrī Mahārājā Jeet Singh Sahīb. According to this grant the plaintiff is entitled to collect one *ṭakkā* per house form the entire state of Chambā. The ancestors (literally, father-grandfather) of the appellant collected from the subjects of the state a *ṭakkā* per house and the present company (the present Jogī establishment?) too collected the same for some time. Now, for some time the subjects of the state refuse to contribute this *ṭakkā* and say that there is no order from the state-government (*sarkār*) to this effect. Therefore, I am forwarding this application through proper channel (*bā-zariyā*). You are requested to enquire and do justice by ordering [the entire population of Chambā] to contribute a *ṭakkā* per house, as was customary, and also renew the grant-*paṭṭā*. This is a fair request. Justice, however, is the prerogative of the state. Date, 24 *Sāvan*, 1982 (1925 CE).

Plaintiff: Mādho son of Śyāmā, caste Jogī
Signed in Ṭākarī: Mādho

Order:
Orders passed in the presence of all that we cannot force any one to contribute one *ṭakkā*. It is the personal pleasure of a person to make such contribution. We have nothing to do with this. The request is dismissed and returned to the desirous. Dated 26 *Sāvan*, 1982 (1925 CE).

Signed in English: Ram Singh

Document No: V.2
Eviction Decrees in Favour of Mādho Jogī

Of the three decrees cited below, the first is by the last appellate civil court (*muqad'mā dīwānī*) at Chambā, and two circuit courts of wizarat at Bhaṭṭīyat.

1. Ex-party (*aik tarfā*) *digree* (decree) in favour of Mādho Jogī, son on Śyāmā, resident of Chambā town, in case no. 439 against Jawhār, son of

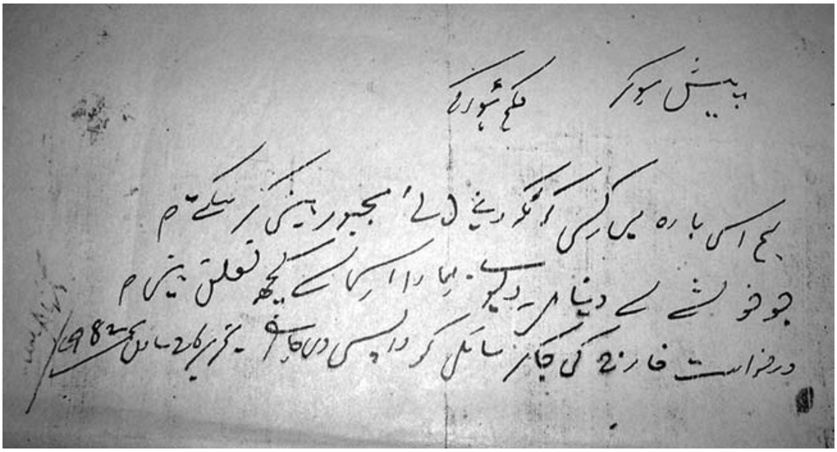


Figure 4.V.1b Petition for the Collection of Religious Cess (Orders: Reverse)

Mamalūk, caste *Nāī* (of barber occupation) resident of parganā Piyorā (Pihūr) from revenue court in Bhaṭṭīyat, riyāsat Chambā. The case filed on *Kārtika* 14 1980 (1923 CE) and awarded on 29 *Jyeṣṭha* 1981 (1924 CE), as an ex-party decree with Rs. 10 as cost.

2. Ex-party (*aik tarfā*) *digree* (decree) in favour of Mādho Jogī, son on Śyāmā, resident of Chambā town, in case no. 438 against Byājo, son of Hariā, caste Nāī (of barber occupation) resident of parganā Piyorā (Pihūr) from revenue court in Bhaṭṭīyat, riyāsat Chambā. The case filed on Kārtika 14 1980 (1923) and awarded on 29 *Jyeṣṭha* 1981 (1924), as an ex-party decree with Rs. 10 as cost.

3. Ex-party (*aik tarfa*) *digree* (decree) in favour of Mādho Jogī, son on Śyāmā, resident of Chambā town, in case no. 200 in year 2000 (1943) against Jayantī, widow of Jogī, resident of Sarol in dīwānī court. Awarded on 12 *Māgh* 2000 (1943).



Figure 4.V.2 A Sample of the eviction decrees in favour of Mādho Jogī, 1923–24 CE

Document No: V.3
Notice Threatening Land Eviction No. 1

Transcription

Asal notice
Notice banām Rāmu vald Naranjanū zāta Darāī gāṅva Bhaṭālā parganā Udaipur jilhā Chambā. Āpko bā jariyā notice hajā muttal'aha kiyā jāta hai ki arazī tadīdī 9 bīghā 9 biswe khātā no. 115/181 vākayā Mahāl Bhanautā parganā Udaipur jilhā Chambā jise āpa merī mārfat kāśt karte haiṅ kā lagān bāwat fasal Rābī va fasal Kharīf 1967 bābjūd talab va takāzā ke āja tak adā nahīṅ kiyā hai. Chaṅd din hu'ye ki talab va takāzā karne par āpne vāidā kiyā thā ki maiṅ majdoor lākar ā'un aur lagān lai jā'uṅ. Chunāche maiṅ majdooroṅ ko lai ke āpke yahāṅ barāyat lagān pahuṇchā magar āpne lagān nā diyā. Inkārī ho gaye jis-par majdooroṅ ko mujhe vāpis ā'nā paḍhā aur mujhe mubliga Rs. 15/ nāhak kī majdoorī majdooroṅ ko bharnī paḍī. Beh'tar hai ki āj se aik haftā ke andar andar lagān arazī bāvat sāl fasal Rābī fasal Kharīf 1967 bā dastoor sabak adā kar deve varnā āpke khilāf nisbat lagān bazār bhāv śumār karke aur baidakhlī zamīn kā dāwā dayār kar diyā jayegā jiskā kharchā adālat vakīl vaghairāh e āp jimedār hoṅge. Nakal notice rakhī ga'yī hai. Tehrīr 27. 12. 1967.

Notice dariṅdā Baijnāth jātī Jogī
Mohallā Charpaṭ Śahar Chambā

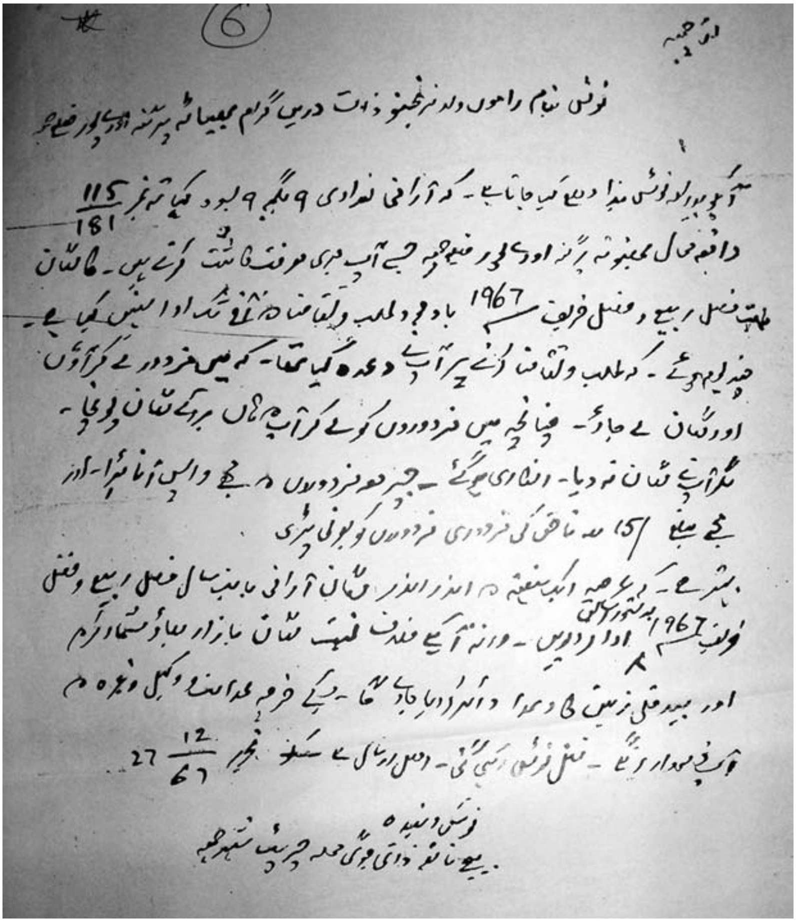


Figure 4.V.3 Notice Threatening Land Eviction No. 1

Translation

Top left hand: Initials in English (not legible)

Number 6
Original notice
Notice against Rāmu, son of Naranjanu, caste Dareha, of village Bhatala in parganā Udaipur, district of Chambā. You are notified through this notice that you are my tenants and till for me the land which is 9 *bīghā* and 9 *biswā* in area vide *khātā* no. 115/181 in the Mahāl Bhanauṭā, parganā Udaipur in the district of Chambā, but you have not remitted to date my share (literally rent) both for *Rābī* and *Kharīf* harvests for

the year 1967 despite of constant reminders. Few days back, on summoning and complaining, you had promised that I should visit you with labour and carry my share of crops. However, when I reached with labour at your place, you refused to give me my share. On your refusal I had to come empty handed and without any purpose shell out Rs. 15 to the labour.[135] It would be in your best interest that you pay my share of both *Rābī* and *Kharīf* crops for the year 1967 within a week. Otherwise I shall be forced to demand rent (crop share) at the prevailing market price for both crops and file a land-eviction suit in court, with costs—as court fee, charges of lawyer, etc.—against you for which you alone shall be responsible. The copy of the notice has been kept. Notice sent on December 27, 1967

The notice sent by Baijnāth of Jogī caste
Resident of Chambā town

Document No: V.4
Notice Threatening Land Eviction No. 2

Translation
AD (acknowledgement attached)

Registered notice (in Urdu)

Date: 26 December 1967

Time one week

Notice against Rāmu, son of Naranjanū, caste Danehi, of village Śehnauṭā in parganā Udaipur. You are notified through this notice that you are my tenants and till for me the land which is in (*Mahāl*)[136] Busehra parganā Udaipur. You have not remitted to date my *gallā-baṭāī* share

[135] This is when the transportation charges per maund of grain (40 kilograms) were very low, ranging from 75 Paisa from Chambā to areas in Bhaṭṭiyāt and Churah; about Rs. 1.50 from Chambā to Bhramaur; and Rs 2.00 from Chambā to Pāngī. *The First Regular Settlement of Chamba District 1951–58*, a report, 1966, p. 29. Is he talking about a crop of about 100,000 kilograms? Obviously, the inflated rate here is to arm-twist the tenant, informing him of an inflated amount of money in order to scare him into giving up the claim.

[136] Contemporary revenue term meaning the delimited revenue estate usually at the first regular settlement for the purpose of assessment and settlement of revenue, *The First Regular Settlement of Chamba District 1951–58*, a report, 1966, p. 63. The land referred to is 19 *bīghā* and 8 *biswā* in area vide *khātā* no. 146.

(fixed harvest share in lieu of land-usage) both for the *Rābī* and *Kharīf* harvests… (vide number?) 146 in spite of previous reminders. Few days back you had promised that will turn in the *candā* (the payment). I visited your 'place' along with labourers (coolie), but you refused to give me my share. On your refusal I had to return empty handed and without any purpose I had to shell out Rs. 15 to the labour. Now you are being notified through this 'Notice' to you pay me my share (*gallā*) of both wheat (*gandam*) and rice (*dhān*) within the specified period. Otherwise, I shall be forced to file an eviction suit along with tenancy rights in court, with costs: as court fee, charges of lawyer, etc., for which you alone shall be responsible. You have no right to not to pay the *gallā-baṭāī* or the share fixed on the basis of share-cropping. The copy of the notice has been kept. Words do not come cheap.

The plaintiff
Baijnāth, son of Mādho,
Jogī caste,

Resident of Chambā town.

Documents: V.5 & V.6

The two following documents, V.5 & V.6 give us a picture of the small world of the Jogīs and their family ties, yet also give us a perspective on the role of the state and its jurisdiction. The first one is a complaint about a person, again a Jogī, who is allegedly a 'bad character', having an extra-marital affair with the wife of the plaintiff, who wants him to be 'exiled' from Chambā. The next document is about the alleged suicide (murder?) committed by the wife of another Jogī, who seeks permission to perform her funerary-rituals. The state permits, and the official report is lodged to this affect. Is the state empowered to control the lives of people? Does the state keep a close tab over the souls of people, as it were, by controlling the rights to rituals—even funerary-rituals? That the state is not interested in determining the murder or suicide and apprehending the guilty (in 1926), but in the funerary-ritual is surprising. Do institutions (in this case, police) have a different meaning in different places?

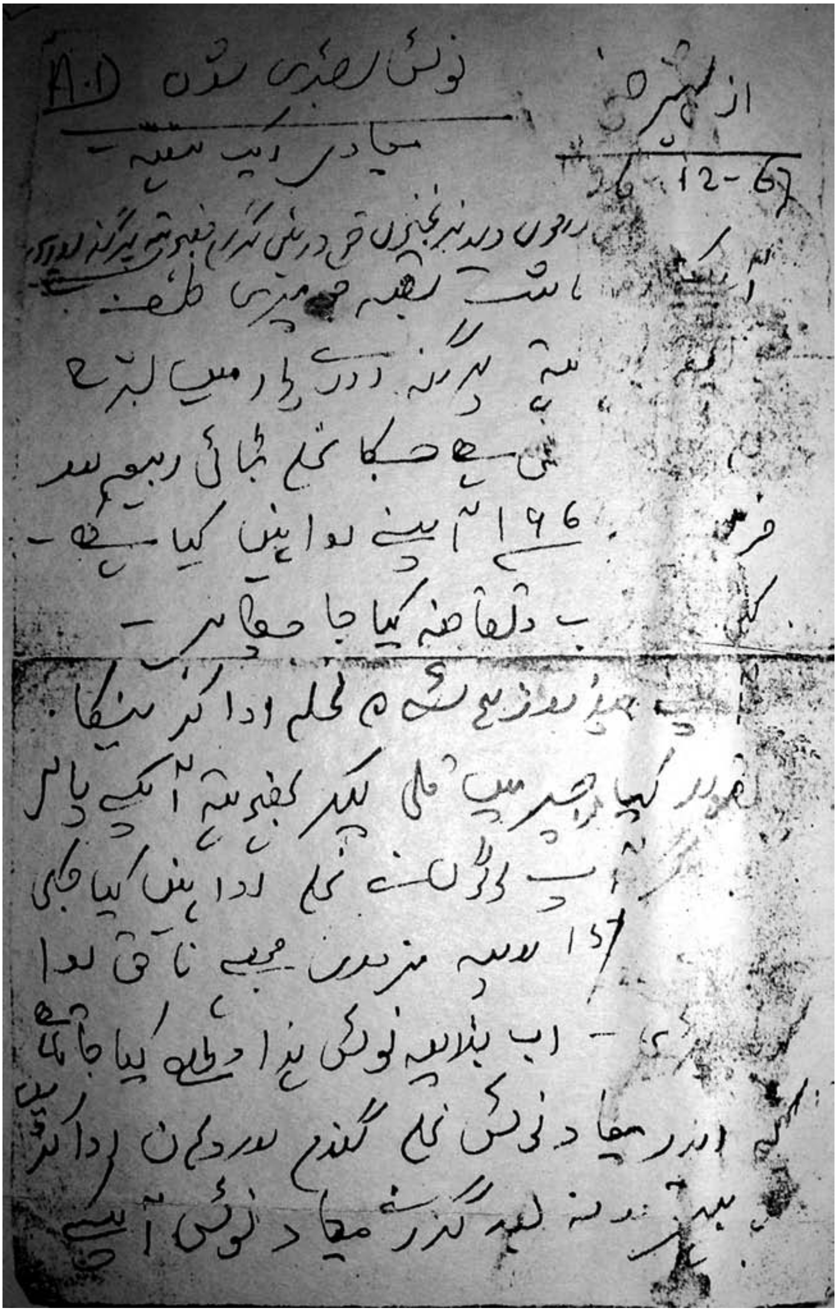
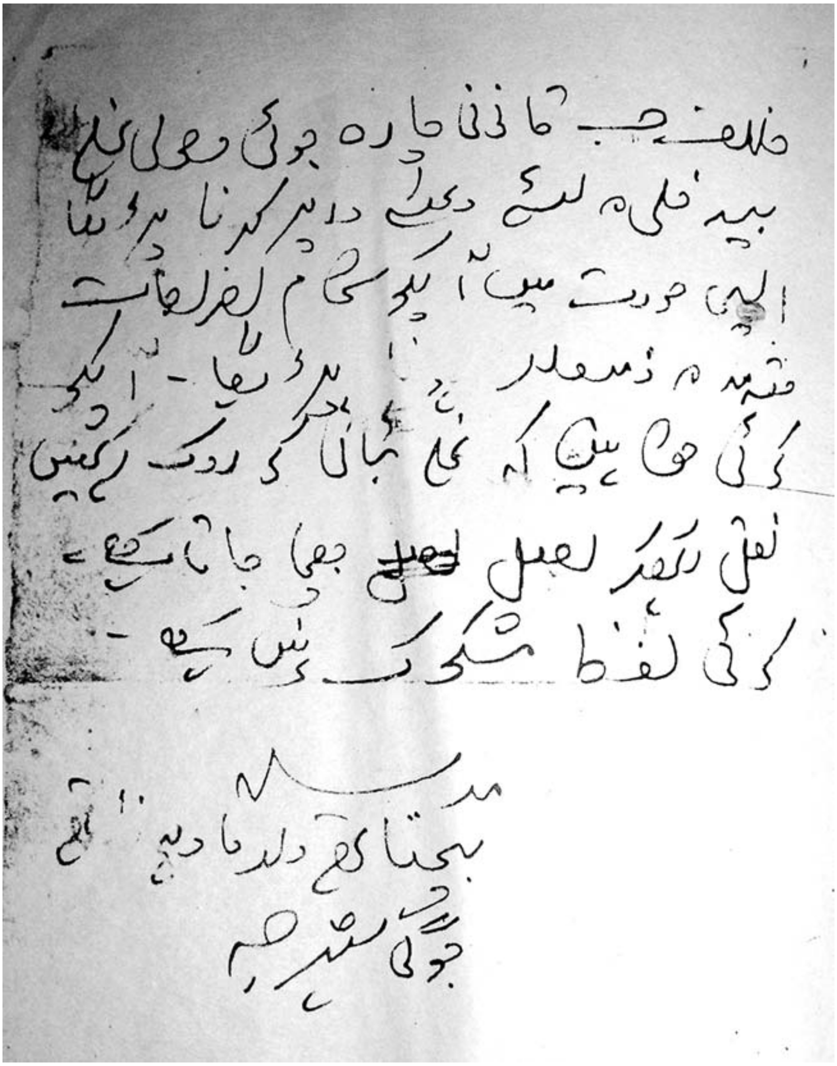


Figure 4.V.4a&b Notice Threatening Land Eviction No. 2 b is the reverse side



Document V.5
Appeal to the state for the protection of wife

Translation
In the service of Sir, Sāhīb Bahādur or Riyāsat Chambā, Your Lordship (*dām-ī-iqbāl*)

Your highness (*janāb-ī-ālī*)

I beg to testify that two years back Mr. (*mus'ammī*) Rāmū son of Dayāla, caste Jogī, resident of district Kāngrā came to the house of Mr. (*mus'ammī*) Ṭehlu, son of Umedhā, caste Jogī, resident of (village) Rājpurā in the parganā of Rājnagar to earn his livelihood by honest labour. However, it was found that he is insidious (*jāl-sāz*) and sly (*cālāka*). He has been roaming with the wife of the plaintiff (*fidvī*) and also cracks crude (vulgar) jokes. The plaintiff is worried that he might elope with her anytime (the implication is might carry her—*bhagā kar ke*). Therefore, I request your highness that such a person should furnish a personal bond (*jāmānat*) or he should be evicted from the territories of the Riyāsat.

Plaintiff, S. 1982 (1924–25 CE).

Document V.6
Appeal to the state for repenting the suicide of wife

Bahadur Janab Śrī Mahārājā Sahīb
Bahadur Riyāsat Chambā, Dāma-iqbāl

Translation

COURT FEE
Chambā State
Eight Ānnā

Your honour

The plaintiff humbly submits that on the 20th of (*Hāḍa*?) the wife of appellant, lady (*mossamā*) Gulābī, was one night found strangled by the hemp-rope, by which the cow is tied, and was found dead thereafter. The appellant wishes to repent (*prāy'śchit*) the death (implying that cremation rites be fulfilled?). This may be deemed as the report for her death as well. You are requested that the permission be granted to

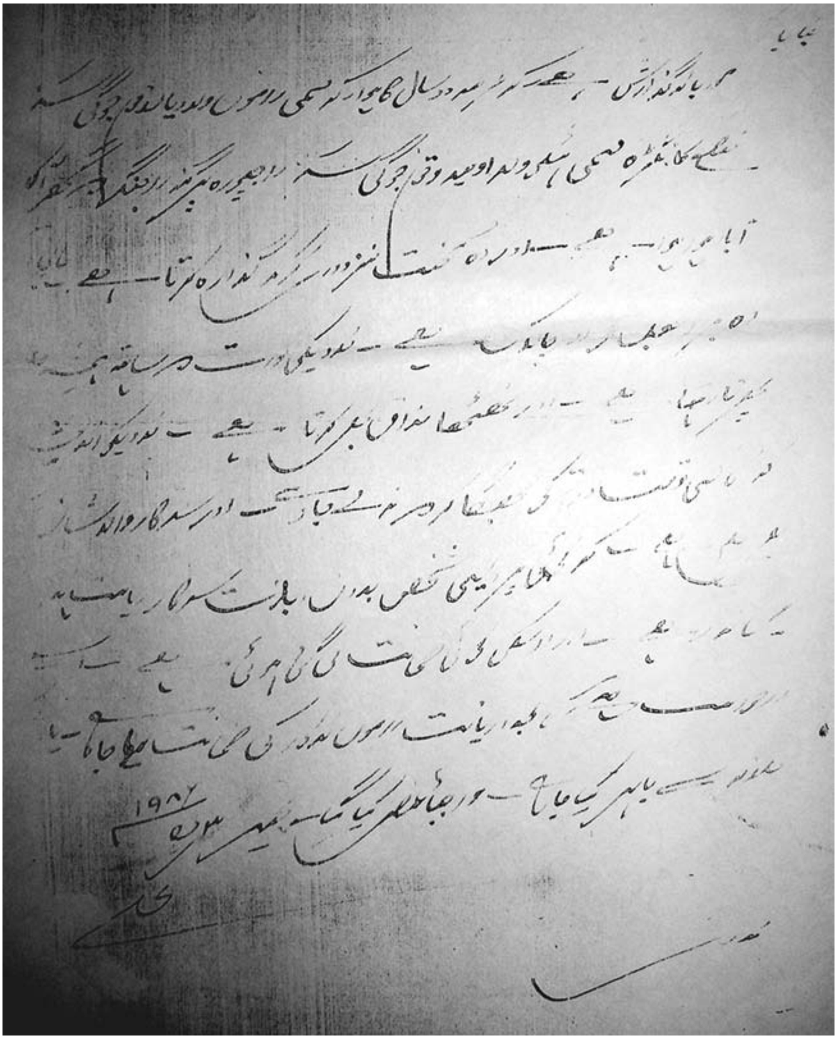


Figure 4.V.5 Appeal to the state for the protection of wife

carry on the repentance in conformity with rules (*hast jāvatā*). Request made on 23 Māghair, 1983 (1926 CE).

Plaintiff: Chartū son of Magnā, caste Jogī, resident of Jalorā, parganā Bātharī

Signed: Thumb mark

No. 1066/ Nihālu Rāma

Order:
Orders passed in the presence of the appellant that the original application should be sent to the Nāzim Sāhīb of the temple with comments that the appellant should be enabled to repent as per the rules of *Dharmaśāstra* and report back. Dated 25 *Māghair* 1983 (1926).

Signed in English: Ram Singh

Report:
As per the orders of your honour, the last rites of the departed lady (*mossamā*) Gulābī have been performed by the *havana* rites as per *Śāstra* (scriptures). Kind cognisance of this report may be taken. Dated 21 *Pauśa*, 1983 (1926).

Document No: V.7
Appeal against Encroachment of Nawāḷā Rights No. 1

Copy of the Final Orders of the Highest Court of His Highness (*Nakal Hukum Tajvīj Faislā Ākhir Ujja'lāsa Janāb Śrīmāna Rājā Sāhīb Bahādur, Riyāsat Chambā*)

Civil suit (*Muqadmā Dīwānī*) Appeal No. 71; No. of witnesses (*Gośwaran*) 15

The date of filing the case (*Tārīkh Majruh*) 24 *Sāvan* 1970 (1913)

The date of passing orders (*Tārīkh Faislā*) 15 *Māgh* 1970 (1913)

Ṭhiṭholi, son of Sitū, caste Jogī, resident of parganā Bhaṭṭīyat. Plaintiff (*Muddaī ā'lah*) appellant versus (*banām*) Mādho, son of Śyāmā, caste Jogī, resident of Chambā respondent.
Appeal against the orders passed by the court of honourable Lālā Karam Singh Sāhīb against the amount of decree awarded Rs. Four hundred.

Transcription
Āj yeh appeal frākīn kī hazarī maiṅ paiś hu'ā sūrat vākayā tanazā bajā bandī hai ki Raghubīr Hawariyā ke ghar Nawāḷā kiyā jiskī rasam adā karne ke vaste usne appellant ko talab kiyā to voh khud nā nahīṅ gayā aur apanī jagah usne koi aur śakhs bhej diyā lekin Raghubīr ne us se rasam Nawāḷā adā nā karwāī aur respondent ko bulā liyā. Respondent ne bād udāye rasmo Nawāḷā apanā haq al khidmat bator chartar vasool kar lī aur usī chartar ke vāīs frākīn vāham jhagaḍ rahen haiṅ. Appellant

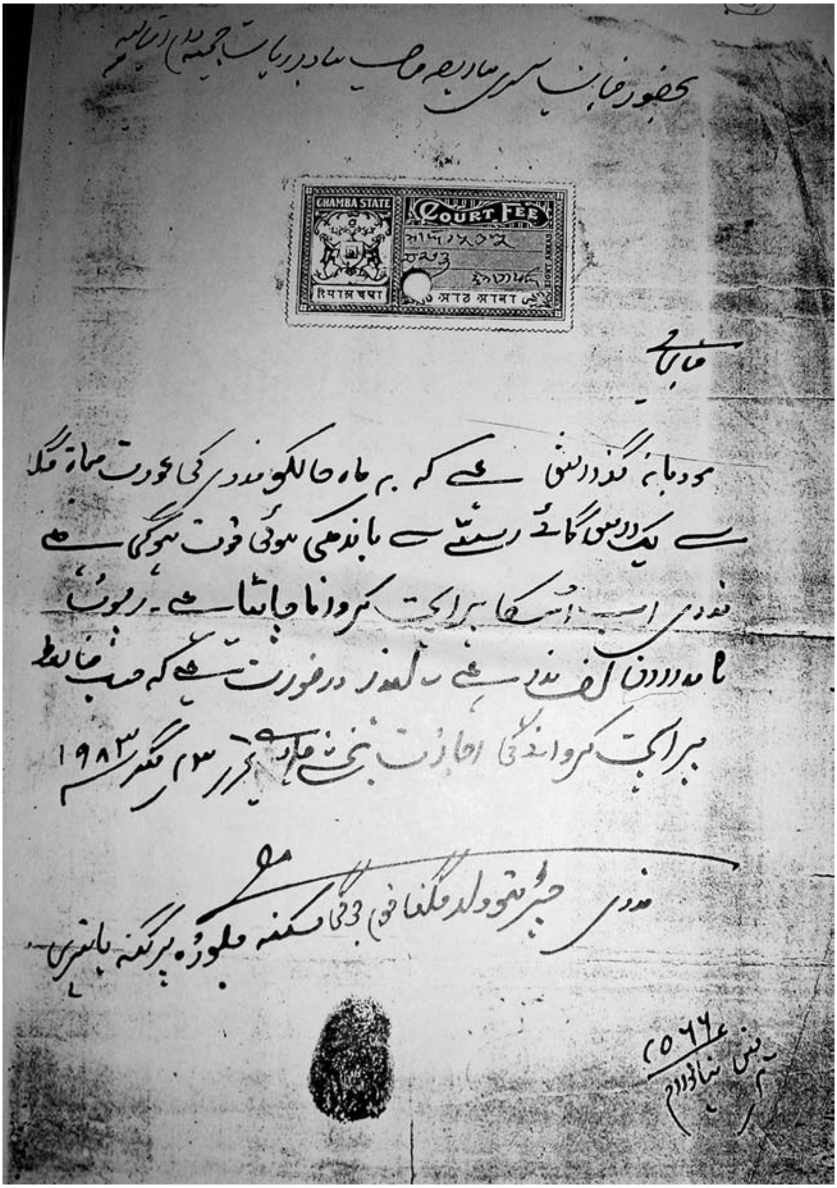


Figure 4.V.6a Appeal to the State for Repenting the Suicide of Wife

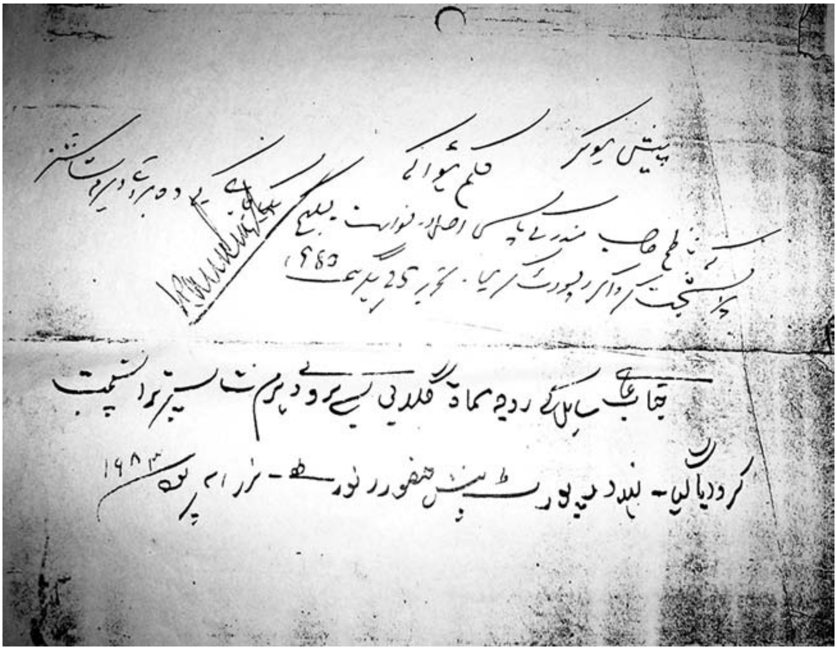


Figure 4.V.6b Orders and the Report on Suicide (Reverse)

kehtā hai ki merā haq hai aur respondent kehtā hai ki maine kamāī aur apanī ujjarāt lī hai. Hamārī rai maiṅ mau'joodā rak'am cartar Nawāḷā Raghubīr respondent kā haq hai ky'oṅ ki voh hasb-ul-talab Raghubīr gayā aur bā ras'am Nawāḷā usne adā karaīṅ. Līhāzā ā'iṅdā ke vāste uskā haq nahīṅ hai ki voh śahar ke vrat Nawāḷā maiṅ bajā'ye appellant koī dastaṅdāzī kare kyoṅkī hamko yeh māloom ho gayā hai ke śahar darān ke vrat Nawāḷā qadīm se appellant hī kamātā chalv ā'yā hai aur muqadmā dīwānī no. 1365 faislā 23 pauh S 54 ke mile khat se yehī is vrat kī bāvat Dalīp (sakan) Diyor ki śahādat se pāyā gayā hai ke qadīm se hī appellant kā kārowār Nawāḷā karnā chalā āyā hai. Is li'ye ā'īṅdā ke vāste ham'ne respondent ko ma'nā kar diyā hai ki veh appellant ke haq ko adab karne kī koṣiś nā kare. Yeh Nawāḷā us'ne banā liyā yeh usī kā hu'ā. āyaṅdā agar voh ai'sā karegā to appellant us ke sāth dāwāh fazāh kiyā jayegā. Yeh digree bāzāftah jo usne adālat mā'tehat se hāsil kī hai du'rust hai.

Hukam:
hukam hu'ā ke appeal nāmanzoor digree hamdarah adālat mutahit kharchā appeal

Reverse:
Tāmīl va it'lāha adālat matahit dākhalā daftr hove. Tehrīr 15 Māgh 1970 Dastakhat behroof angrezi: Śrī Mahārājā Sahīb Bahādur

Seal of the Chief Judicial Officer
Chambā state

Tasdeek kī jāti hai ke nakal mutābik asal hai ba tayār faislā hamne sayad dafā 76 Act sahādatā 1872/ darkhāst 10 viśākh 82/ daftar—11/ viśākh 82/ teyārī 14 viśākh 82/ āmat 323/ asrat 54/ record ke bāhar 1 Rs. 8 Ānnā/ faislā 12 viśākhe 82/ nām faislā Jaidpāl/ maqābil kiyā gayā Sohan Singh

Translation
Today this appeal was taken up in the presence of the litigants and the point of contention is such that Raghubīr Hawariyā had organised the *Nawāḷā* ceremony at his home. For the rituals of the *Nawāḷā* he called the appellant, who instead of going himself deputed some other person. Raghubir did not get the *Nawāḷā* rituals performed by this (replacement) person; instead, he called the respondent who later performed the ritual as is customary and appropriated the collection, monetary and kind (*chaṛtar*), as his service prerogative (*haq-al-Khidmat*). That donation has become the point of contention and the litigants are quarrelling over it. The appellant contends that this is his prerogative while the respondent counters that he has right over the wages that he earned. Our considered view is that the right over the donations made at the *Nawāḷā* organised by Raghubīr is that of the respondent because he went there on invitation and performed the *Nawāḷā* rituals as is customary. However, hence after this shall not be his right and that none shall interfere in the performance of the *Nawāḷā* rituals in the town accept the appellant because we have come to know that the appellant has been earning through the performance of the *Nawāḷā* rituals in the township. According to the orders passed on 23 *Poh*, 54 (1878 CE), civil suit (appeal *dīwānī*) 1365, and based on the witness of one Dalip (of village) Diyor, the appellant has been earning through performance of the *Nawāḷā* rites for the populace. Therefore, the respondent has been instructed not to appropriate the right of the appellant. The respondent has earned this (particular) *Nawāḷā*. It is, therefore, rightfully his. However, if he does so in the future, the appellant is empowered to sue him on the count of contempt of court

(*dāwah fazāha*). This decree has been duly obtained from the court of his lordship and is certified as true.

Order:
Ordered that this appeal is dismissed and the costs of the court to be borne by the plaintiff.

Reverse:
Substantiation and summons to be ascertained by the department of revenue. Dated, 15 *Māgh* 1970 (1913)

Signed in English: Śrī Mahārājā Sahīb Bahādur

COURT OF THE CHIEF JUDICIAL OFFICER
The Seal of the Chambā State
CHAMBĀ STATE

Certified that this is the true copy of the original. The orders have been passed on Indian Penal Code act (*dafā*) 76 of the Evidence Act of 1872[137]/ on the application 10 Vaiśākh 82/ diary no. 11 Vaiśākh 82/ preparation 14 Vaiśākh 82/ Charges 332/ fine Rs. 5 / outside the records Rs. 1 and 8 Ānnā/ orders 12 Vaiśākh 82/ copy made by Jaid Pāl/ date of witness 14 Vaiśākh 82 / warrant issued by Jaid Pāl

Signed: Sohan Singh

Document No: V.8
Appeal against Encroachment of Nawāḷā Rights No. 2

Copy of the Final Orders of the Court of the Chief Judicial Officer Sahīb Riyāsat Chambā

Civil suit (*Muqadmā Dīwānī*) Appeal No. 65; No. of witnesses (*Goshwarā*) 387

The date of filing the case (*Tārīkh Majruha*) 20 *Jeṭha* 1982 (1925)

The date of passing orders (*Tārīkh Faislā*) 12 *Savan* 1982 (1925)

Ṭhiṭholī, son of Sītū, caste Jogī, resident of Mohallā Drubhī, Chambā town, Appellant

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[137] The India Penal Code was in force along with the Codes of Criminal and Civil Procedure, G. C. Parsons, *Gazetteer of the Chambā State, 1904*, Lahore, 1910, p. 267.

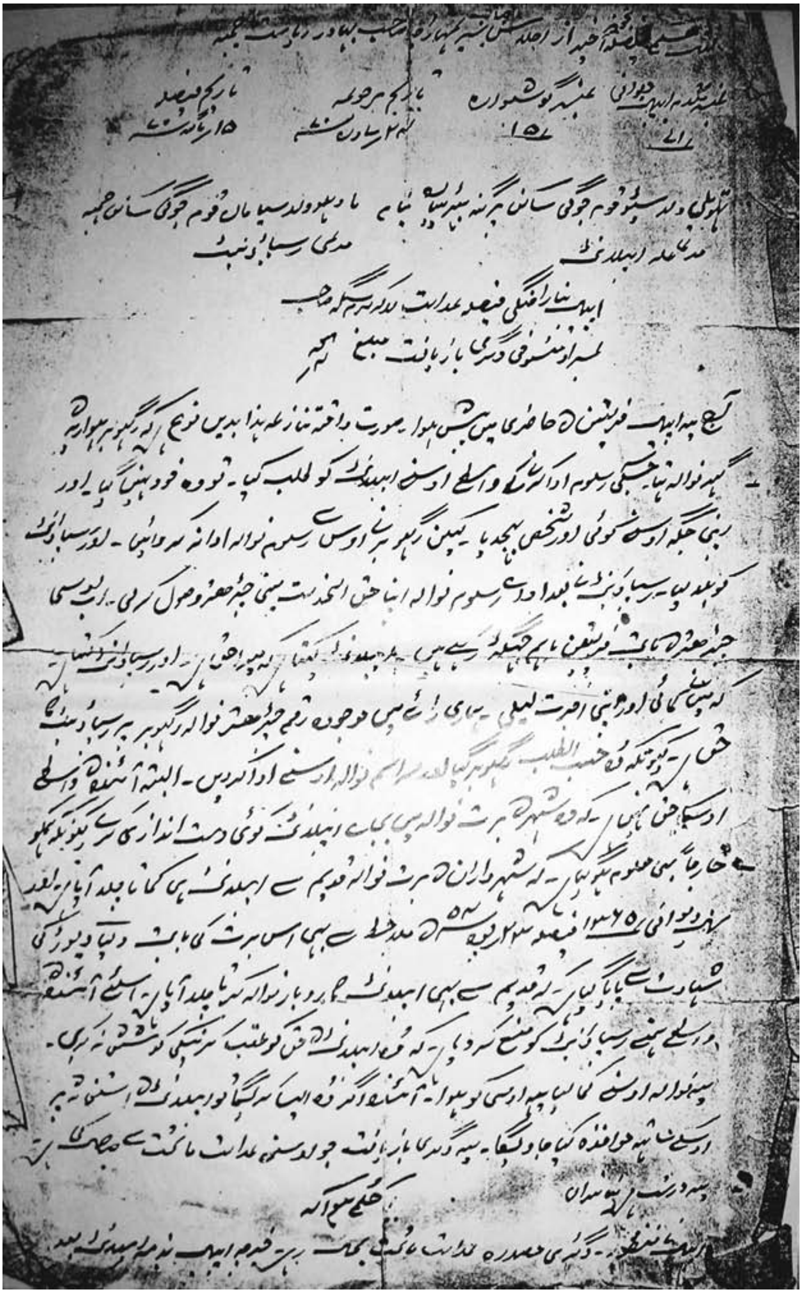


Figure 4.V.7a Appeal against Encroachment of Nawāḷā Rights No. 1

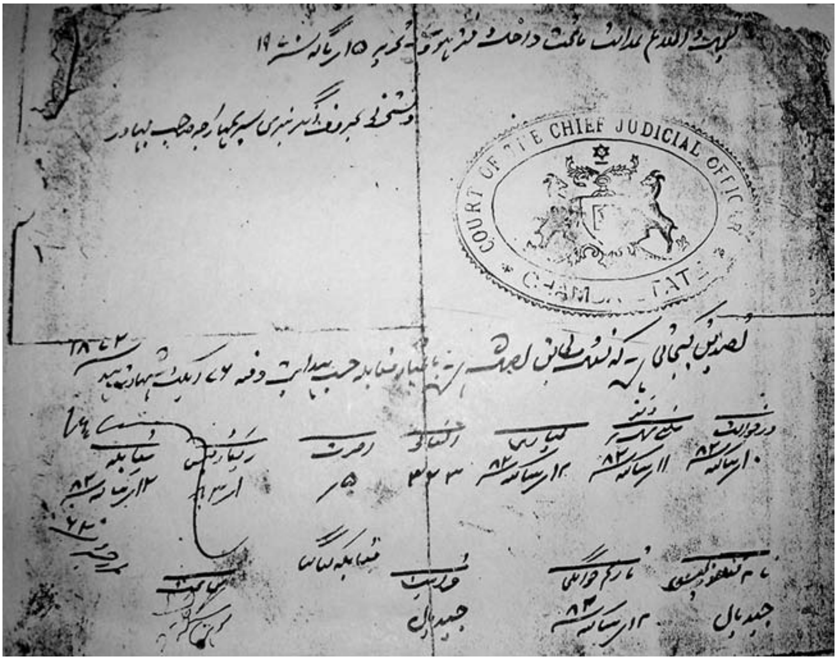


Figure 4.V.7b Nawāḷā Rights No. 1—Orders under Seal

Versus

Mādho, son of Śyāmā, caste Jogī, resident of Chambā; and Nanakū, son of Maffal, caste Khatrī, resident of Chambā town, Respondents.

Appeal against the orders passed by the court of Lālā Baldev Rām Sahīb against the decree awarded Rs. Eight hundred as damages (*harzānā*) against *Nawāḷā* report no. 1.

Translation

This appeal has been filed by Mister Ṭhiṭholī, appellant, against the orders passed by the court of Lālā Baldev Rām Sahīb, and damages in Vaiśākha 1982, in this court. In that order the honourable court had dismissed the petition and decree of damages for *Nawāḷā* rituals, as earlier. We have seen the copy of the order of the appellant and the case in detail and found that the honourable court did not establish any issues of title (*tanqih*, the issue of title in the first regular settlement—*tanqīhat*) and dismissed the case on the evidence of one witness only. Therefore, the court on 11 Hāḍa 1982 (1925AD) took cognisance of this fact and remanded (in original, remand) utmost caution and in

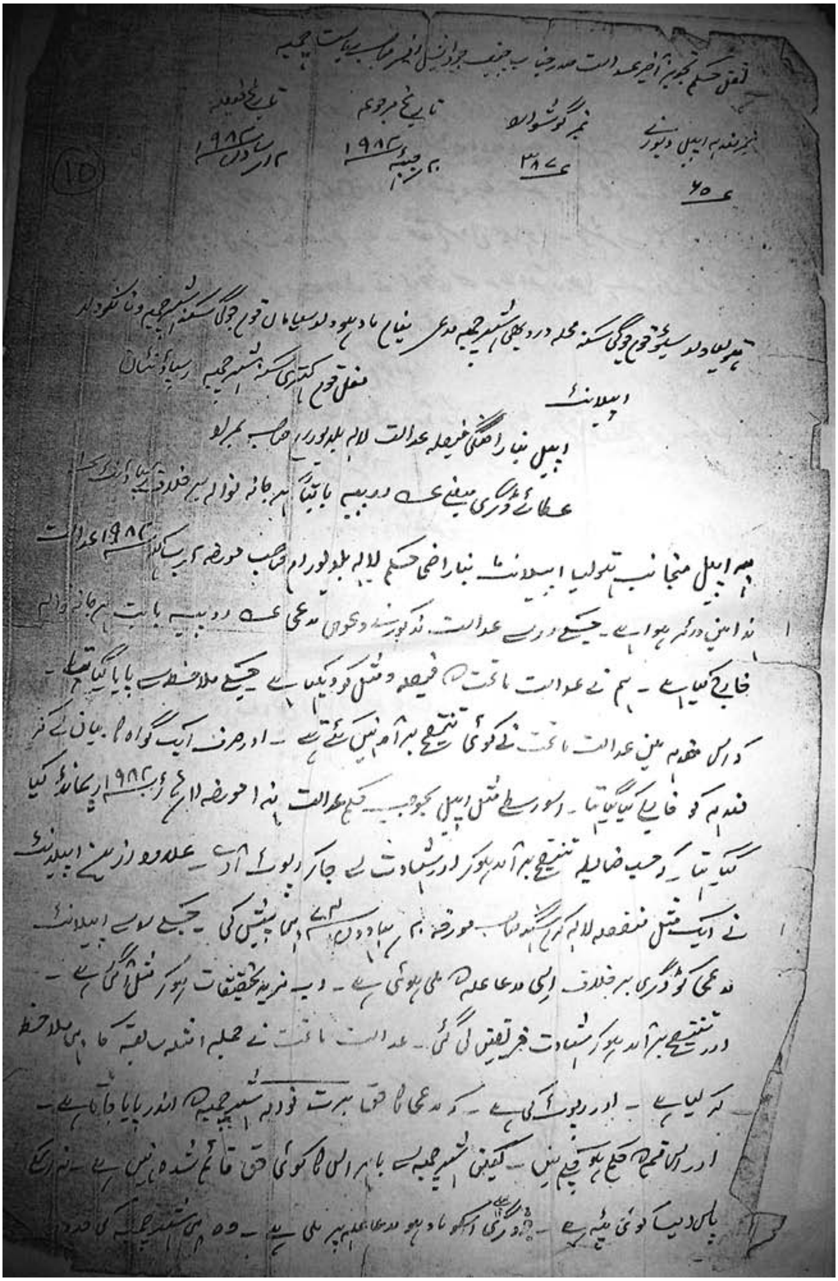


Figure 4.V.8a Appeal against Encroachment of Nawāḷā Rights No. 2

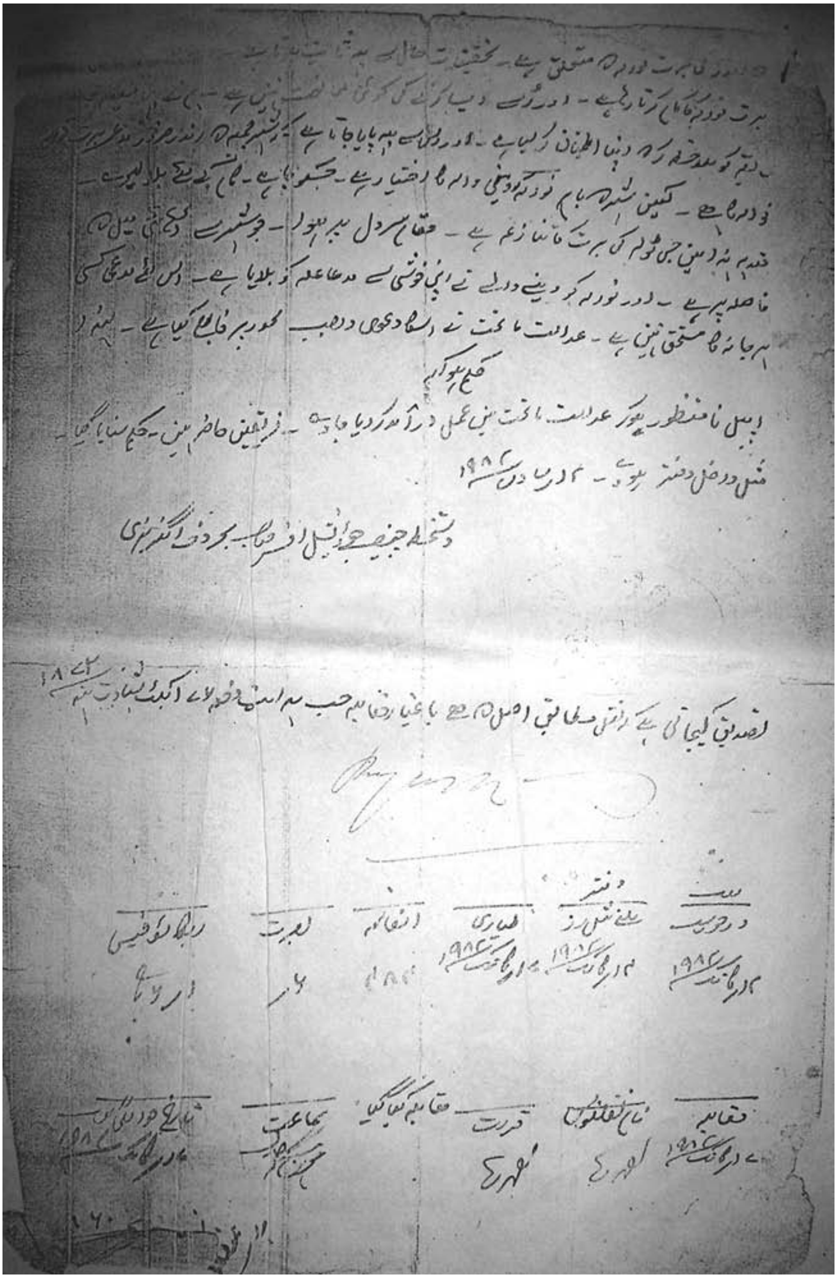


Figure 4.V.8b Nawāḷā Rights No. 2 (Reverse)

conformity with rules (*hast jāvatā*) ordered that a report be filed on this situation. The applicant also forwarded for perusal an earlier decision of Lālā Kare Singh, son of Mokhā, 20 Bhādo 72 (1915), in which the appellant has been awarded the rights against the same defendant. Now the detailed report has also been filed and the evidence of the litigants and witnesses has been completed. As per the report filed the right of the appellant to perform the *Nawāḷā* rituals rests within the periphery of the township of Chambā, and this has also been upheld by various courts, but he enjoys no such status, nor has he any grant of right to this effect, outside the boundaries of the town. The decree referred to against the main respondent, Mādho, is for performance of *Nawāḷā* rites within the boundaries of Chambā town. From investigation (*tehkīkāt hāl*) it is evident that the respondent, Mādho, has been performing the *Nawāḷā* ritual and has not committed any crime in doing so. We have ascertained this from the people of the town and caste members. We have ascertained that within the township it is indeed the right of the appellant but outside the town any one can call any person for performance.

Reverse:
The particular *Nawāḷā* in question in this case took place at Sarol, which is two and a half mile away from the town. The respondent was called to perform the *Nawāḷā* at the personal pleasure of the 'master'. Therefore, the appellant cannot demand damages (*harzānā*). The court is empowered (*adālat mukhtiyār*) to dismiss the petition and has ordered against the submission of the applicant, and ordered the court to make him abide by the decision (*amal darāmad*). The order was stated in front of the contestants. The orders were signed on 12 *Sāvan* 1982 (1925 CE).

Sign in English by the Chief Judicial Officer Sahīb Bahādur.

COURT OF THE CHIEF JUDICIAL OFFICER
The Seal of the Chambā State
CHAMBĀ STATE

Certified that this is the true copy of the original. The orders have been passed on *dafā* 76 of the Evidence Act of 1872/ on the application 12 Kātik 1982/ diary no. 12 katik 1982/ preparation 17 Kātik 1982/ Charges 484/ fine Rs. 5/ outside the records Rs. 1 and 5 Ānnā/ orders 17 Kātik 1982/ copy made by…



Figure 5.1 Guru Nānak with the Jogīs and Bairāgīs: Kashmiri painting (State Museum, Simla, Himachal Pradesh. Accession no. 75.246, on thick paper). In this 18th century painting, Nanak is adorned with a Persian crown (symbolic of his status as the 'spiritual king') and a patched-quilt (symbolic of asceticism). He is surrounded by Jogīs (top left and bottom right) as well as by bairāgīs and sanyāsīs, along with Bālā and Mardānā, playing on the rabāb (the string instrument) and flying a cauri-whisk (a royal prerogative). What is most interesting is the Śākta tilaka or sectarian mark on the forehead of Nānak, a subtle statement of the contemporary sectarian ethos, practice and the mechanism of appropriating identities.

EPILOGUE

A SMALL STATE AND THE LITTLE SHRINE

O King! If you control the world,
We control spirituality.
You are worshipped by the rich and greedy,
We, by those who strive to remove illiteracy/
(We serve the knowledgeable).
If you have no faith in us,
We also have no sympathy for you!

(Jogī Bhartṛharī, *Vairāgya Śataka*, vs 83)

The documents presented in this study are 'thick description' of a little Shrine. The word 'little' describes not only the meagre size and resources of the portal of Charpaṭnāth, but the ideological taxonomy as well, which is directed against the 'great tradition'. Moreover, couched within these historical-ethnographic texts, as we may call these documents, is the powerful sub-text that begs to understand the limitations of the small state. Yet, these documents belong to the genre of ascetics, the Nāth-Siddhas, whose role in the complex South Asian medieval polity is now being realised. Often, the role of the state and that of the renouncers was intertwined, they were dependent upon each other for their respective survival. Let us first rethink the story of the small state that was seated in the huge western-Himalayan mountains.

Rethinking the State and Cultural Process

The process of integration and consolidation of the state involved a complex process of cultural change and transition, which affected the 'social', as the territory was increasingly exposed to the north Indian political and cultural hegemony. This influenced not only the local social and political structures, but also the system of values and norms through which the society and state viewed itself. The duality of the state-society perception sustained an alternative sectarian space and symbols. The alternatives 'shaped' and 'were shaped' over time and space: a process of 'inter-transposability' where cultural patterns are constantly weaved

and synthesised. That the state promoted, sieved and sustained alternative systems in the complex process of its evolution is crucial to our understanding both of the state process and cultural complex.

The state associated itself with religious symbols and manipulated them to obtain legitimation of its rule. These symbols had ideological underpinnings, and in turn created a sacred space vital to acculturate the local 'faith' and society. Acculturation assimilated the local cultural ethos into the major sacral-ideological space by sanskritising it to provide a vertical linkage, while accommodating the local 'beliefs' by creating mythological associations to hierarchically rank them with the sanskritic top, paving the way for horizontal expansion. Cultural interaction thus moulded, and was tinted in the process, to arrive at a culture-complex that provided vertical linkages and association with the 'universal', while garnering horizontal approval and penetration. The major sectarian shifts also paved way for the ideological contentions to the limited social-sacred space, synthesised in the 'religion of people', as represented in the sanskritised symbol of Maṇimaheśa, and the 'religion of state', manifest in the shrine of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.

The state consciously developed the vertical linkages with the north Indian polity and the religious processes. The area of religious influence increased progressively as the state evolved, from the pre-tenth century Kashmiri *Kaula* influence; to the Kurukṣetra pilgrimages in the tenth-eleventh centuries; and the pilgrimages to the Ganges, Badrīnāth and Kedāranāth in the fourteenth century; Prayāg, Kāśī, Gayā in the fifteenth century; and south Indian space in the seventeenth century. In turn, the state espoused the dominant religio-cultural ideologies concurrent in its sphere of influence, from the goddess in the early phase, Śaiva-Śākta in the intermediate phase and the Vaiṣṇava in the later phase. This is where the role of small shrines, like the legates of Charpaṭ becomes critical. These were the buffers in transition, which soaked in the centripetal pressures and translated them centrifugally to create consent-to-rule, and in the process devised a territorial base for the ideology they espoused. This is reflected in the example of Maṇimaheśa; the 'symbol' that provided cohesion to the divisive identities, yet in a subtle manner went on to create a pervasive religious ideology. Such innovations, manifesting regional preferences, disguised the ideological contest in the shared vocabulary of values to remould them in the hegemonic brahmanic culture. Often, these innovations were the "maps of problematic social reality and matrices for the creation of collective

conscience."[1] Negotiation and manipulation, therefore, of any contested space ideologically oriented such a 'collective consciousness.' It must be, moreover, emphasised that the tradition reflects and is built upon or influences the existential concerns of the society concerned and, therefore, is bound with the ever shifting present. Since new concerns were thrown up by the requirements of the local society/community, the assimilative agents—the texts or ritualists—incorporated them and theorised around them to assimilate the local in the broad brahmanical sacrality.[2] The state, therefore, promoted the pilgrimage of Maṇimaheśa as an integrative symbol that legitimated its rule; while the ideologues (both Charpaṭ and Śankarites) used the state to expand their territorial and social base. In the subsequent social-political transformations, while the state process changed, the ideological base and its underpinnings subsumed in the symbol only proliferated. There is always an asymmetrical relationship between the religious ideology and the state, each depending upon the other, yet trying to outlast the other. More often than not, it is the ideology that outlasts the state, as is evident from the development of ever proliferating local symbol of Maṇimaheśa into the supra-regional pilgrimage that it is today.

Pilgrimage and piety played a major role, while the ritual and textual experts (Brāhmaṇas and ascetic institutions like the Girīs) were settled in Chambā from the major north Indian sacred-centres. They provided textual and ritual legitimation to the sovereign, reflected in the progressive assumption of pretentious titles. A state replicating the dominant north-Indian model of agrarian, fiscal, bureaucratic and administrative terminology and structure was thus fashioned, shedding its local roots and identity in the process. Land grants to the Brāhmaṇas, ascetic-institutions and temples, social stratification and hierarchy, peasantisation of the economy and the construction of genealogy firmed up the linkages (finally with the Rājpūt polity, values and norms). Genealogy,

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[1] Geertz, Clifford, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, New York, 1973, p. 220.

[2] Such innovations are common regional phenomenon, for instance in Bengal, where the assimilation of the regional into brahmanical necessitated the creation of special texts called the 'Bengal Puranas', Kunal Chakrabarty, *Religious Process: The Puranas and the Making of a Regional Tradition*, Delhi, 2001, pp. 1–35, 47; or in Kashmir, where regional texts like the Nīlamata Purana becomes the assimilative agency of the brahmanical orthopraxy, Mahesh Sharma, "Puranic Texts From Kashmir: Vitastā And River Ceremonials In The Nīlamata Purāṇa," *South Asia Research*, 28, II, 2008, pp. 123–45.

used as a systemic response to the strains and ruptures, could be used to manipulate lineage and social distinction. It sought not only the linkages with the north Indian socio-cultural cosmos, but also contrived a sacred-cultural space by cultic affiliations, appropriating history and charismatic personalities with magico-spiritual powers and prowess, and antiquating the legitimising instruments to seek validity within the state process. The kingship approximated the sacred domain by identifying itself with the temple divinity. Yet, ritually legitimised and consecrated kingship also devised the consent-to-rule by manipulating ideological underpinnings: devising genealogy, forging bonds with the sub-continental sacred cosmos, demonstrating piety and virtuosity, and finally, claiming warrior status as the cultural protector and upholder of the norms and values of the caste society.

The temple process, linked to the expanding state in each phase, provided a vertical relationship with the political process in the periphery. Hence, the northern Churah Vaiṣṇava region was co-opted into the Chambā state by the brahmanic facility, which also helped in opening a mutually beneficial correspondence with the Vaiṣṇava chieftain, who had earlier espoused independence. Temples also provided horizontal inter-linkages with sectarian centres in the periphery, for instance, the Maṇimaheśa pilgrimage in Bhramaur to the peripheries of the south Churah, Bhaṭṭiyāt, Pangī and rural Chambā. Since the major temple-complexes were restricted to the locus of power, the Chaurāsi temple-complex built earlier in Bhramaur and the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple-complex built later in Chambā, the temple process bonded periphery to the nucleus. The chieftains in the periphery, who competed with the sovereign state to assert control over the riparian wet-agricultural tracts, also replicated the symbols of temples and icons. Thus, the temple building process or the erection of 'images', along with inscribed assertions, suggests a competitive manipulation of symbols to create the vertical and horizontal linkages and construct the consent-to-rule.

The process of constructing consent-to-rule, particularly in the periphery, was undertaken by the Brāhmaṇas and ascetics (Jogīs), sporadically settled in the villages as individual families. Land grants played a major role in gaining brahmanical control over the ideological sector by sanskritising the local cultural ethos, norms and values, dissemination of knowledge, and thus creating consent-to-rule. While brahmanic creation and mediation of the sacred domain firmed up the symbiotic relationship with kingship, they also created horizontal dominance by crystallising the 'puranic order'. A ritual space was, therefore, created

by introducing and controlling pilgrimages, temple and every day life rituals, *rite-de-passage*, calendric ceremonials and construction of the *Bhaktī* norms of piety, the *Rāmāyaṇa* parental devotion, the merits of donation or *dāna-dharma*, and the recitations of puranic texts like the *Harīvaṃṣa*. Brahmanical 'dominance' and social influence was, however, contained by controlling their ritual hinterland (*jajmāni*) and prerogatives by settling competing ritualists and textualists from the pan-Indian sacred centres and thereby displacing the vested power relations, and progressively monitoring as well as taxing land grants, also to augment the meagre resources. Since the monetary economy was small and the agricultural base meagre, the state did not alienate large revenues to the land grants. Consequently, rent-free grants were largely taxed; local and customary taxes were slowly introduced and increasingly levied to augment the tax base.

Since there is more than one sacred space and 'set of' cultural-religious symbols, there has to be more than one cultural agency as well. This bill is footed by the Jogīs of Charpaṭ. The tradition of Jogīs cut across and fused the narrow sectarian lines between the *Kaula* tradition of bordering Jammu and the Nāth-Siddha tradition popular in the Panjāb. They were particularly popular in the peripheral areas of the Chambā state. The construction of *marhīs* (hutment) of Jogīs in the pastoral and agrarian rural-scape in the border areas of Jammu and Panjāb, particularly in Churah (the contested area bordering Jammu and Kashmir), underscores the significance of these cultural outposts in creating a constituency that was drawn into the politico-religious orbit of the state. These centres were the cultural embodiments of local identities that the state itself protected. The Jogīs of Charpaṭ derived their power from providing a vertical relationship to these 'cultural outposts' in the periphery. These 'cultural outposts' bonded the periphery to the nucleus by horizontal inter-linkages between each of these cultural-centres. Because of the power that these ascetics commanded, and particularly due to the way they were revered in the Indian tradition, the rulers of Chambā kept a close watch on their activities and generally controlled both the brahmanic priesthood and the ascetics by establishing their own candidates. There are documents to this effect, where the clientele of a Brāhmaṇa was fragmented and given to another; the Jogīs had virtually two seats during the 1830s–1860s. The Girī ascetics, their ideological rivals, were asked to officiate instead. This has a bearing on our understanding of caste, kingship and ascetic agencies. The model that emerges is that of a strong centralised kingship that

effectively controlled both the ascetic and brahmanic agency. It, thus, ensured their dependence upon the state process for their survival, and not the other way round. The state thus reigned in the cultural agents while using them in the peripheries, where they carried culture to the farthest outposts, and holding on strictly to the nucleus, the designated cultural territory. These cultural underpinnings sought to congeal the identity, both of the territorial state and of people. Linguistic hegemony was used as a unifying factor, a sense of Chambiyāḷī dominance and nationalism was enforced. Thus, disparate local communities acquired a larger social-cultural identity, a shared cultural pattern composing alternative worldviews, devised by common affiliations to the sacred domain (text, temple and ritual), kingship and language.

Authority and Power

> Three-fourths of these religious mendicants, whether Hindoos or Muhammadans, rob and steal, and a very great portion of them murder their victims before they rob them.... There is hardly any species of crime that is not throughout India perpetrated by men in the disguise of these religious mendicants; and almost all such mendicants are really men in disguise; for Hindoos of any caste can become Bairagis and Gosains; and Muhammadans of any grade can become Fakirs.
>
> (Colonel William Henry Sleeman, 1839)[3]

Within this debate, the Jogīs's position is interesting. As the legates of Charpaṭ, they enjoyed a strong correspondence with the state process, recognised by the royal genealogy-*vaṁśāvalī*. They received grants, even if restrictive in nature, and a 'share' in the festive rituals of all major shrines of Chambā and from the royal family for conducting specific rituals. Yet, as householder Jogīs, who abdicated the vow of celibacy, they occupied low ritual status in the caste hierarchy. Oscillating between perceived status and actual status, the Jogīs tried to use the state apparatus to leverage their social and ritual standing by petitioning the Rājā of Chambā. As Parry informs us for Kāngrā, the

[3] Col. W. H. Sleeman (1788–1856), who waged war against the thugs in 1830s, considered most holy-men of India as mere bandits, criminals and rogues in his, *A Report on the system of Megpunnanism or, The Murder of Indigent Parents for their Young Children (who are sold as Slaves) as it prevails in Delhi Territories, and the Native States of Rajpootana, Ulwar, and Bhurtpore*, Calcutta, 1839, p. 11. cf., W. R. Pinch, *Peasants and Monks in British India*, Berkeley, 1996, p. 8.

authority of the Rājā was "crucial in legitimising a change in the status order."[4] The 1924 District Gazetteer of Kāngrā also confirms that the Rājā used his powers to manipulate the caste hierarchy by 'raising' or 'lowering' certain 'castes'/members of 'caste' community and therefore control the fine nuances of social status and 'prestige'.[5] We need to place the efforts of the Jogīs in the larger perspective. Their appeal to the Rājā seeking rights to a 'religious cess', their claim to the right to perform and collect donations from specific ritual, and their efforts at economic empowerment by appropriation of land titles, are merely a part of this larger phenomenon.

The Jogīs were quick to appreciate the transformation in the functioning of the state and tried to elevate their status by exploiting the ambiguity between 'power' and 'authority', between the ideology of 'tradition' and the 'method' of colonial institutions.[6] That they appealed to the Rājā while simultaneously exploring the legal framework and the land settlement regime indicates their comprehension of the system in transition.[7] The institutional framework empowered their claims while

[4] J. Parry, "The Koli Dilemma," *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 4, 1970, p. 99.

[5] *Punjab District Gazetteer, Part A: 1924–25, Kangra District*, p. 152.

[6] This seems to be a sort of pattern with the religious class that tried to expropriate resources during the time of transition. The transition may be due to the dynastic change or the redefinition of the relationship of the 'paramount'; the colonial regime in this case. This particular example is contextualised in, Mahesh Sharma, "Contested Claims: Land, Ritual and the Jogis of Charpaṭnath (New Documents from Chambā)," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 43, 4, 2006, pp. 487–510.

[7] This could be realised in the changing nature of governance in Chambā and the consequent subordinate position of the Rājā. On 22 December 1862, Maj. Blair Reid was appointed the Superintendent of Chambā, and undertook to streamline the administration. Chambā's regular army, mostly of Purbias and Pathans, was disbanded. A Public Works Department under European supervisors was organised and new lines
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the authority of the Rājā, even if nominal, was sought to legitimate their social rights. That they were partially successful in their strategy of social, ritual and economic empowerment is a different story.

The case of Charpaṭ Jogīs of Chambā clarifies the dilemma of choices faced by the dominant 'subordinates' and their 'subordinate' sovereignty at the time of transition from the local-autonomous rule to colonial rule. It enumerates how a person with an insight into the working of the system could twist it to create a contested niche of localised power. It also establishes that while the colonial institutions could provide economic benefits, only the 'traditional' authority of the 'subordinate' Rājā could legitimise the revisions in social status. This explains the strategy of the Jogīs in petitioning the Rājā seeking a 'religious cess', while simultaneously writing eviction notices and appropriating landed titles by manipulating the settlement procedures, as well as initiating litigation to claim outright ownership. The adroit perception of the Jogīs that the state was governed by the 'written word', led them to seize 'records' and use the rule of 'precedence' to consolidate their superior status as functionaries ministering to their rural agrarian-pastoral constituency, with claims to sectarian leadership as well. Notices were registered, landed titles and rights (*tankihat-i-haq*) were manipulated by constructing a genealogy (*śajra-nasab* in the *misl-haqiyah* in the first settlement), to bolster their claim. These documents also created a body of evidence and referents on which the social and ritual status as well as the rights of ritual performance and land titles/ownership were hereafter contested. That historical reference and past precedents were highly respected in the civil-courts explains the efforts of the Jogīs to claim rights to a 'religious cess', even when such claims were patently

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The erosion of the Rājā's authority is also evident in the renewal grants of the Jogīs. While there are successive renewals of the first grant, with some modifications, there is no grant renewed or made after the 1860s. The tenor of annual offerings made by the Rājā also changes. As an administrative head he only orders the *pargana* officials to facilitate the Jogīs in undertaking the annual pilgrimage to Maṇimaheśa culminating in the sacred dip for which the Jogīs are expected to pay certain fee. While the state provides portage, the Jogīs are now expected to reimburse for this service as well. Going through the documents, it is explicitly clear that while the state continues to provide same services as earlier, a certain fixed payment was now expected. Obviously, the economic accountability takes precedence over the Rājā's prerogatives, thereby subtly eroding his authority.

For a detailed account of the political process, see Hutchison and Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. I, pp. 329–39; also, *Gazetteer of the Chambā State, 1904*.

fraudulent.[8] Finally, the strategy of the Jogīs of Charpaṭ substantiates the functional nuances of the state: where authority was separated from power and the Rājā from the colonial Superintendents.

Keeping this transition in mind, the 'paradigmatic sovereignty' and 'realm' should be comprehended as the 'cultural state', one that these 'princely states' were reduced to in the post-1867 British 'imperium'. This transition was better appreciated by the 'little shrines' and their 'small leaders' who were in a position to assume local leadership. Yet, this local leader-board was ambiguous as it had no cultural sanction, as the Jogīs soon realised. In the efforts of the Jogīs' petitions to the Rājā for status elevation and the manipulation of the colonial institutions for economic empowerment lie the dimensions of the larger changes in the agrarian-scape of Chambā.[9] The ascendance of religious orders/leaders cutting across caste and sectarian boundaries needs to be placed in this context. While these processes clarify the popular comprehension of the layered roles of the autonomous 'princely states' and their colonial masters in the society and economy of the region, they also assert the power of traditional symbols available to the aspirants looking for wide-ranging advantages during such a period of considerable flux.

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[8] Similarly, the *purohit*-priests of Jvālāmukhī cited precedence in their petitions to the colonial rulers in their efforts to safeguard (and enlarge!) their share of temple donations, denying their competitors any rights to a share in the collection. Mahesh Sharma, "Contested Claims," pp. 487–88; Document no III, in B. N. Goswamy, "Documents from Three Pahari Temples," pp. 256–57.

[9] For example, in the eastern corner of Himachal in the early twentieth century, the ascetic monastic/religious establishments, "mirroring and safeguarding the interests of the landed high caste community," maintained control of and access to the rural labour by means of credit transactions. The presence of artisan-labourers served as a check on the bargaining power of tenant-cultivators. Artisans entered into the landed-labour relationship because they could barely eke out their survival from the existing craft economy. While the cultivators were more restive as well as class conscious, artisans were much less so. The connivance of the state functionaries, the clergy, and the members of high caste, helped the monastic credit system. While acting as the 'rural local bosses', the monastic system perpetuated and regulated the caste hierarchy. By manipulating its temporal and spiritual-ideological authority, it effected and legitimised changes in the rural social economy and deflated possible manifestations of protest or unrest. Mahesh Sharma, "Artisans and Monastic Credit in Early Twentieth Century Himachal," *Indian Economic Social History Review*, 36, 2, 1999, pp. 255–56; also, *The Realm of Faith*, pp. 139–40.

Slivers of Entwinement: The Jogīs and the State

> One should not be vain!
> Hundreds of kings tried to control the Earth,
> But failed in the face of death.
> This is sad.
> Only fools revel in this!
>
> (Bhartṛharī, *Vairāgya Śataka*, vs 24)

There are histories. The histories of Jogīs are haunted and predicated by their surreal past, the larger domain of History. Yet the Jogīs of the documents—the slivers of their lives—are rather a humble, calculating and petulant lot, struggling to hold on to the shrine of Charpaṭ. They were, therefore, condemned to carry the burden of History. This responsibility attached them to the state, immortality, alchemy, power, authority, charisma, individualism, spiritualism, warlordism and warfare, organisation, mendicants, freebooters, thugs, ritualists, and also men of letters and knowledge. This is where the histories are intertwined, an entanglement from which each strand needs to be isolated and comprehended, in order to appreciate the larger picture.

Unlike Charpaṭ, the Jogīs of Chambā were not renouncers; instead, they were the householders. They got married and procreated, hoping that the succession to the *gaddī*, literally 'the seat', would be hereditary and not by election. As they got married, they were fixed in the caste hierarchy, which is indicative of their social status. As renouncers were beyond the 'social', they are considered dead for the society. They smeared their body with symbolic ash, and their high social status, which they enjoyed as ascetics, did not translate into caste status when/if they got married. If abnegation was respected, the regression into the life of a householder was punished. Consequently, the Jogīs were placed lower in hierarchy, along with other 'unclean castes' associated with religious categories: the Sanyāsīs (the married *daśanāmīs*), funerary-priests (*cāraja*), etc. The temple priests, who lived off donations, thereby sharing the sins of the donors as well, were similarly placed lower in hierarchy. The Jogīs were the priests, who managed the portal of Charpaṭ and were the priests of goddess Mahākālī. Nonetheless, their fixation in caste hierarchy was also the acceptance granted to their matrimonial ties and was a way of welcoming them back to the society. The documents presented in this selection are a perspective on the efforts made by the Jogīs to improve upon their economic and social status.

The Jogīs were a large fraternity, with close kinship ties based on a singular ascetic/secular ideological and sectarian (Āī-panth in the case of Charpaṭ Jogīs) tie rather than genetic/blood ties, spread throughout Chambā. In each of these micro-areas there were the Jogī seats, which were tied to Chambā. The Jogīs saw this as a 'corporate body', and the senior-most amongst them succeeded to the portal of Charpaṭ. Charpaṭ allegedly had ties with Āī-panth (the sub-sect of Āī), one of the twelve Nāth-Siddha divisions (*bhekha bārah-panth*). One may presume that the Jogīs of Chambā too were associated with this sub-sect. There is, however, nothing to suggest this, nor is there any such recollection today. The Jogīs claim that they belong to the Sarohā gotra and Jogī caste. That this is documented in the land-revenue records is significant. The backdrop is impelling too. The colonial legal system and the 'Hindu civilisational' voice (that invoked the *dharmaśāstras*—ancient legal digests) in the hills were keen to establish the legitimacy of 'family' as a socio-legal institution. They advocated inheritance through marriage,[10] which would make the election of other Jogīs difficult. The priesthood could thus become a family affair. By manipulating the revenue records, the family devised a lineal succession. Earlier, there were contestations, particularly between the 1830s and 1860s. Ratna Nāth, who was one of the regional heads (*Maṇethar*) succeeded in 1854 after the death of Pīr Arjan Nāth, who was perhaps elected and did not belong to the 'ruling' family. But one can see the familial succession gaining ground. Thus, Jogī Amar Nāth received a renewal grant along with the name of his father, Jwālā Nāth (who incidentally is not mentioned in the revenue records; where Sarva Nāth is his father) inscribed, indicating succession and, therefore, inheritance. It is also indicative of the fact that the Jogī matrimony, a contentious subject where the Jogīs were concerned, was socially accepted. The legality of marriage, however, was questionable, as some of these Jogīs were polygamous (rather, polygynous); and worse, prostituted women of their 'castes'. Among others, Jogī Baijnāth is a recent example. Circumventing the legal system, Baijnāth adopted his son, Som Nāth (the present Mahant), born of his 'concubine', negating the claims of the 'legally' born from marriage. Therefore, determining

[10] Yogesh Snehi, "Conjugality, Sexuality and Shastras: Debate on the Abolition of Reet in Colonial Himachal Pradesh," *IESHR*, 43, 2, 2006, pp. 163–97.

the legality of marriage was imperative from the perspective of the legal and fiscal institutions to determine the claims of succession.

The life of Jogīs was not built around the tradition of renunciation—of abnegation, abstinence, abstention, controlling sense/ory perceptions and working towards liberation as the final aim of life. Instead, the documents bear testimony to the fact that they had extraneous relations. There was usually a discord in their family life, with their women even committing 'suicide' (or, murdered?). They used hallucinogens indiscriminately, particularly cannabis. Ritually, they allegedly used alcohol, which perhaps transcended the domain of ritual and was significantly abused in their daily lives. They were constantly in need of money and these documents are witness to the ways they tried to augment their income: from appropriating offerings made at the local Śaiva ritual, *Nawāḷā*, to demanding a sort of 'religious cess' from all the Chambā inhabitants; finally, contesting and appropriating land belonging to the low caste peasants, the hereditary 'tillers' (*Hālī*) of the shrine. That they were partly successful in their designs is another story. Renunciation was nevertheless celebrated. What is however interesting is that the householder Charpaṭ Mahants received tribute when new 'renunciants' were initiated. For instance, "3 Rupee and 8 *Ānnās* from three *Jaffe*, on the ceremony of *muṅdrā*, or wearing the Nāth ear-ring," were received at the investiture ceremony of the renouncers. This problematic issue is a significant context to the relationship between the Jogīs, renouncers and the shrine of Charpaṭ.

The story of the Jogīs has its twists along with the transition in the state process. They were the ones to carry or ensure the cultural/ideological norms in the outposts of the Chambā state, to create consent-to-rule for the Chambā rulers. In return, they were patronised and received a sizable income, considering the small resources commanded by Chambā. With the transition of the state process and the waning influence of the Chambā royalty, they tried to maximise their advantages without changing their outlook, as it were. Consequently, they were mostly reduced to being the 'lumpen' elements, picking up the dredges thrown or snatched from others.

The state was aware of the power commanded by the ideological agents, the Brāhmaṇas and ascetics. The association of Charpaṭ with the state process at a critical time, when its influence was waning and consolidation was required along new lines, is a reflection of the level of their awareness and ties with the dominant north Indian polity. Such Nāth-Jogī associations were conspicuous in the Rājpūt states,

like Mewār, and to an extent even the Mughal Empire. As the state was aware of the power of ascetics, it was equally cautious in using and curtailing their power by controlling their grants. One can only guess, but it is very likely that the state promoted the domestication of the Jogīs. Only those who had some 'worldly possessions'—property, kinship relations, and ambition to make big—could return back to the material world. This could only be achieved by colluding with the state. Such a step, however, delegitimised them in the eyes of the people, reflected in their low social standing.

The state controlled all the priestly agencies by reordering the land grants and actively intervening in the priestly succession or fashioning new priests, as it could ill afford inimical elements detrimental to its interest. The state could arm twist and force its choice as it regulated and maintained the shrines/*dehrās* through land grants and annuities. For instance, the priesthood was conferred upon Baḍu Ratna, who could inherit all the 'customary emoluments'.[11] Similarly in a 1599 grant, priesthood was awarded to one Īśvara Śramaṇa, son of Mādhava, of Atrī gotra.[12] Priestly influence was also disciplined by defining and re-adjusting the clientele (jajmāni) or priestly jurisdiction. For instance, a land grant was resumed and offered to another Brāhmaṇa along with a third of priestly rights of donation and honorarium. A third share of the income arising out of priesthood was designated to yet another.[13]

The grant, as well as the clientele, is, however, not without a context. The revenue collection, irrespective of the small size of contribution, was made by all the administrative units of the state. The grant therefore transcends its 'size' and becomes more like a 'trust' that actively involves people, reflected in the diverse nature of collection, purpose and intention. The issue, therefore, is not only the 'smallness' of the grant, rather the representative nature of the collection and grant. For instance, the shrine of Charpaṭ not only received money and grains (rice, wheat, maize, millet, etc.), but also, ghee (clarified butter), honey, pulses, like *Māśa*,[14] horse-grams, chickpeas, etc., sesame, incense (*Miṭṭhā Dhūp*)[15] and even rock-salt. The way smaller grants were carved from other bigger 'grants', revenues exchanged or cess extracted, was a

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[11] *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 33, pp. 87–89.
[12] "Chambā Plate of Balabhadra," *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 38, pp. 95–7.
[13] "Nagoda Grant of Balabhadra," *Antiquities*, II, insp. no. 57, pp. 125–6.
[14] Black-gram, *Phaseolus radiatus*.
[15] *Jurenea macrocephela*.

practical way to maintain diverse small shrines, like that of Vasukināga or even Charpaṭnāth. This also demonstrates the mechanism by which the smaller economies maintained the ideological sector without 'alienating' the majority of their 'little' revenue.

The state took keen interest not only in the succession of priests, Mahants and other ascetic leaders, but also in their death. For instance, the provincial officials were taken to task for not reporting the death of a Gosāīn. Not only were there property considerations after death, but the people were also concerned about the disposal of the dead and the funerary-rites, so that the dead would not harass them. This was a potent threat! Thus, the Jogīs sought permission to perform the last rites of a certain woman who had committed suicide. The responsible priest filed a report informing the Rājā that funerary-rituals were performed as sanctioned by the *śastric*-scriptural authorities. It seems that the dead were feared more than the living; the 'ghosts' more than these small time holy-men! Nevertheless, new culture and ritual codes thus percolated to new areas, requiring new cultural agents who competed with and/or ousted the local tradition. The state too had a new turf to guard where it could renegotiate with the new agents at the expense of the earlier dominant (therefore, irritant) ones. In such a scenario the Jogīs undoubtedly consolidated their position along with the ubiquitous brahmanic priests.

But then, the ritual world of the rulers is also encompassed by these small shrines. Their birthdays were celebrated, communal feasts were provided to people on such occasions. Donations were made to the shrine, the priests praying (interceding with God) for their longevity. The chief-queen (often the Rājā had more than one wife) performed special rituals at special or auspicious times. As the priests of Mahākālī, Jogīs had a special relationship with the queen, who patronised their worship—providing a special *sañja*-ritual offering. During the jātrā-procession of Maṇimaheśa, each of the royal had a fixed role to play: a particular amount of money and material to donate. The Rājā, for instance, offered four he-goats for the sacrifice, besides the fixed amount of money. If someone had thanksgiving to offer, that was additional to the customary donation. How special such occasions were in their lives may be gleaned from the types of donations made and the enthusiasm with which they were made. For instance, in one such ceremony, one of the 'princesses' offered a rare 'speciality' snow-bird for the sacrifice. In fact, going through the objects of ritual, one gets a fair notion of how developed the market economy was. The ritual world of food and

donation is dynamic and flexible. Market always finds a way to penetrate the ritual through materials offered and deft substitutions made. As Geertz observed, "ritual is not just a pattern of meaning; it is also a form of social interaction."[16]

At the time of the commemorative ceremony (*Śrī-Kārā*) of Charpaṭ, the state sponsored a communal feast, as it also did during the Suhī commemorative ceremony. These communal feasts were also significant in that the larger population of Chambā participated in them. These were the sites where hierarchy was systematically rendered meaningless, leading to a temporary 'communitas', the notion of community building, of equality. In fact, all the rituals are about food offerings and sacrifice. Through these feasts the state revisited the notions of status associated with redistribution, like potlatch, that cemented the bond between the ruler and subjects. By virtue of being the sites of such festivities, these shrines legitimated such bonding. Often, the mythical is actualized in the ritual. Communal-feast ritual is, indeed, a subtle reminder of the process of the evolution of 'chieftainship', the vestige of an archaic notion of 'authority' that ensured food for all, safeguarded the surplus and protected against the food raiders. Yet, food was also the site of possession and segregation. This was ritually categorised in the notions of offering cooked and raw food. To the deities like Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa only the priest offered food cooked in the temple, others only offered raw food.

Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, as a paradigmatic ruler, had a social obligation as well. It participated in the ritual of other deities and offered *bartan*—a fixed reciprocal tribute/contribution. For instance, it paid twenty Rupees at the time of Kṛṣṇa Janamaṣṭamī; but a Rupee and four *Ānnās* (1–4–0) to Śiva-Śakti during the Chatrārī *melā*-fair. Similar fixed *bartan* was paid by all other shrines to each other and to Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. Figuratively speaking, all these shrines were an extended family of the Chambā state of which Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa was the patriarch. If one were to further extend the analogy, Charpaṭ would be the priest in this extended relationship—interceding on behalf of the state, yet manipulating the divine.

Finally, the slivers from the past! The documents in this collection not only narrate a story of the king and an ascetic—the state and the shrine—but also provide an insight into the history of transformation.

[16] Clifford Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, New York, 1973 (reprint. 2000), p. 168.

These documents tell us about the crop patterns, the practice of leaving fallow land for reclaiming fertility in some areas, double cropping pattern in others. They tell us about the productivity, about the typology of agrarian products and the incidence of cash nexus in the society. They obliquely give us an idea about the size of economy; of price and the rate of inflation over a period (prices are mentioned in parenthesis when documents about receipts are presented). They tell us how the forest produce, animal husbandry and shepherding practices were integrated with subsistence agriculture in the peripheral areas, contributing to make the state economically viable. The documents are also a comment on the composition of the society, the occupational conception of castes; perhaps a pithy comment on the understanding of the caste institution, presuming the introduction of or penetration of such a conception in the peripheral areas; how caste and gender inclusive or exclusive the society was. The documents on ritual not only provide us with a picture of brahmanic orthopraxy, but also a ritual domain that was contested by the low caste Jogīs; how priestly agency was humbled, and ritual practitioners across the caste spectrum controlled a significant constituency. The documents tell us about how inclusive the festivals/ceremonials were; the type of stratification in these festivals and rituals; and the social contest to organise and control these rituals. Finally, they tell us how the state took upon itself to participate and bond with the society through these shrines, festivities and rituals. How, while it could ill-afford to alienate precious resources, the state mobilised people and resources in organising popular pilgrimages like Maṇimaheśa, or managing communal-feasts at fixed times. Of particular interest are the legal documents, providing us an image of a burgeoning town where people forcefully occupied properties that were contested; where small time crimes were taking place; suicides/murders were being committed; where the institutions of justice were bombarded with petty petitions, ranging from the issues relating to fornication, ritual jurisdictions, to property claims and evictions. In the end, these documents help us to comprehend the process by which the colonial institutions—the Indian-penal-code, the land settlement regime, the department of forest or criminal justice—ordered and controlled the landscape, and in turn how these were socialised. These slivers from Chambā's past, an elegy to kingship, narrate the graded helplessness of kings, once empowered, in the face of transformation to the British imperial institutions and eventually the democratic institutions of Independent India.

There is always more than one story. There are histories!

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

DHARMĀRTH GRANTS BY THE STATE

After merging the Chambā state in the union of India, the Himachal Pradesh administration assumed the responsibility of endowing the religious establishments, as was done by the Rājā of Chambā, by providing limited money as 'Grant-in-Aid' for 'Charitable Ceremonies and Dharmārth' to certain Chambā shrines and festivities. The following table, based on the copy of a letter from the Under-Secretary to the Himachal Pradesh administration and addressed to the administrator of Chambā,[1] who managed the disbursement of money to various shrines and festivities, details the sanctioned budget and expenditure, as allocated to various shrines and festivals, by the district administration as in 1959 and 1961.

Table A.I.1
Expenditure details of dharmārth grant to the religious institutions in Chambā in 1959

Name	*Sanctioned Budget based on Expenditure in 1959 (Rs)*	*Expenditure in 1960 (Rs)*
A: Temples		
Temple Nerṭī	67.50	100
Śivālaya (Benaras)	90	150
Caurāsī complex, Bhramaur	60	100
Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa complex, Chambā	1350	000

[1] Copy of letter no. 25–83/60–GAD, dated 13th August 1961 from Under-Secretary to Himachal Pradesh Administration under Grant-in-Aid, under the head of 157 Misc. B. miscellaneous BI Donations for charitable purposes. B 1 (I) Charitable ceremonies and dharmārth during the year 1961–62.

Table A.I.1 (*cont.*)

Name	*Sanctioned Budget based on Expenditure in 1959 (Rs)*	*Expenditure in 1960 (Rs)*
Small temples of Chambā	00	500
Temple Illāqā	00	60
Total	1568	910
B: Fairs/Festivals		
Navarātrā	50	100
Śivarātrī	50	50
Māgha Saṃkrāṅtī	00	100
Maṇimaheśa (separate details provided II.3)	400	750
Total	500	1000

Source: Copy of letter no. 25–83/60–GAD, dated 13th August 1961 from Under-Secretary to Himachal Pradesh Administration under Grant-in-Aid, under the head of 157 Misc. B. miscellaneous BI Donations for charitable purposes. B 1 (I) Charitable ceremonies and dharmārth during the year 1961–62.

Table A.I.2
The Expenditure Incurred by the Deputy Commissioner, Chambā, in 1950 (Samvat 2006) for celebrating the Lohrī festival

64–0–4 To the Ād-Dharmīs for repairing and putting a hide on the eight pairs of Nakāras @ 8–0–0 per pair

20–0–0 The amount given to organise wood for the lighting of a bonfire to the seven *mohallās*, along with five *maṇa* (*paccā*) of *maśāra* wood for processional torches to each of these *mohallās*.

6–8–0 To procure a rope (*sūtarī*), 12 ½ *seer* in weight, to tie the *maśāra*-torches, for the seven *mohallās*.

5–0–0 For 2 Collies hired to split the *maśāra* wood for torches for two days @ 1–4–0/Collie/day

4–0–0 The amount given in cash to the *Koṭharī* or revenue-official of each of the *Maḍī* of the *mohallās* as per the details. Niciṅtapurī *Maḍī* got 0–4–0; Chauntrā 0–4–0; Drobhī 0–4–0; Bangoṭū 0–4–0; Anandamaḍī 0–4–0; Haṭanālā 0–4–0; Baṃśī-Gopāla 0–4–0; Jansālī 0–4–0; Rāmgarh 0–4–0; Khardị̄ 0–4–0; and Nalerakarī 0–4–0.

3–0–0 Paid to three percussionists (*Ḍaphalcī*), beating of *Ḍapha* (a kind of tambourine).

Total Expenditure 102–8–0
Signed

Source: Manager, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Complex, *Register 27 (A) formerly Aa (Sa), II.*

APPENDIX II

GRANT FOR A PARTICULAR FAIR: THE CASE OF SŪHĪ

The *melā*-fair of Sūhī is of special significance, particularly to the people of Chambā town and the royal household. It commemorates the sacrifice of queen Nennā (now known as Sunainā), also Sūhī. Sūhī being the family deity of the royal household of Chambā—there is a myth that the queen of the Chambā king Sāhilla was buried as a sacrifice to the water god to facilitate the water stream to the Chambā town when it was settled as the new capital of the kingdom around the turn of the first millennium CE. The sacrificed was sanctified and the fair is held in commemoration ever since. The commemorative fair was of special significance to the Rājā, who earlier organised it and offered a feast-*dhāma* to the women and children of Chambā, who only were allowed inside the portal.[1] Over the period, Sūhī was recognised as a deity, regarded as the protector of children; legend has it that she was buried while suckling her infant boy, the successor to the royal throne named Yugākāra Varman. Today, she is the goddess who grants children to the barren women and is exhorted as the protective deity of the new born and young, who guards against the evil influences and witchcraft.

The festivity begins with the worship of the *moharā* of the queen, which is in fact a silver mask. *Moharā* is a commemorative stone (silver mask in this case) made in remembrance of the dead and placed over the water body, the *bāoḍī*-water-spring of the lineage, the flowing stream near the family hamlet. These *moharās* are usually washed, occasionally worshipped by making offerings, whenever a kin goes to the spring/stream. All the *moharās* assembled at the water spring therefore commemorate the ancestors worshipped by the lineage; they are not the property of the family alone, in that sense. These are placed near the stream because the watercourse is the symbolic boundary between

[1] Mahesh Sharma, *The Realm of Faith: Subversion, Appropriation and Dominance in the Western Himalaya*, Shimla, 2000, see II chapter, "Creating the Deity: Woman Sacrifice and the Goddess" also, "Making the Deity: Woman Sacrifice, Goddess and Patriarchy," *Indian Historical Review*, XXXI (1&2) 2004, pp. 30–59; Hutchison and Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, I, pp. 283–84.

the terrestrial and ethereal, the heaven and earth. The place of ancestors, the dear-departed, is not inside the homes, but on the boundary of life and death. They guard the territory for the living kin and help them make the transition when dead.

Both these concepts are fused in the structure of the fair of Sūhī. As the ancestor of the lineage, the silver-*moharā* is brought in a procession from the palace for the three days commemoration fair. As the larger affective-kin, the people of Chambā, for whose welfare the sacrifice was made, commemorate by worshipping 'it' as their deity. It may be observed that the 'procession' is homologous to the marriage procession, and the fair is the celebration of the marriage. Sūhī is indeed worshipped as the goddess that grants the boon of marriage to maidens. On its return journey to the palace, the procession is the procession of 'death', singing the elegy of atonement (Sukrāt; which is also called the night of happiness!).

> Sukrāt, O maiden, O birds
> This is the night of atonement
> in the courtyard of the Rājā of Chambā…
> …in the chaughan (polo ground) of Chambā.

How the women-folks of Chambā worshipped the goddess during these three days may be recounted in the words of Uma Singh, who wrote her experience in 2003.[2]

> …the moharā was in place. So were the instruments of worship and the vividly coloured flags. Several Pandits (Brāhmaṇa priests), most of them from the family that tended the palace temple, were performing puja for the devotees…I gave up our thalis (platters containing the objects of ritual) with the offerings, ignited our incense, anointed ourselves with the deity's vermilion and collected our prasad (consecreted food). The main offering on this occasion is that of a dupatta (stole, again a sign of procreation/marriage particularly if it is red coloured) and we had each presented the deity with one. Stacks of them lay in ever growing heap all around the shrine.
>
> …the festival concludes on the evening of the third day, when, after prayers at the shrine, Sui mata (goddess) is carried back to the palace in the procession to the accompaniment of the singing of the Sukrat…The Gaddi (sheperding community) women (who were dancing on this occasion) had a frenzied movement to their dance…Several of the women went

[2] *Between Worlds: Travels among mediums, shamans and healers*, Delhi, 2003, pp. 72–78.

> into trance, falling on their knees to the ground, swaying from the waist, eyes bloodshot and rolling, their heads rotating from side to side and backwards and forwards, their hair coming undone from the tight plaits that held them. I was told that they were possessed by Sui Mata.

On this occasion, the state made *dharmārth* offering in kind and money to facilitate the organisation of the fair. The following details are of the 'facility' and 'dharmārth' provided by the administration of Chambā in 1950, on behalf of the state. Since it is a document prepared by the administration of an independent Indian state, which ultimately assessed the *dharmārth* in terms of money (for budgetary purposes), unlike the documents of or on behalf of the Rājā of Chambā, the prices are also indicated against the weighted products—provided below in parenthesis. The following were offered as the *dharmārth* to the deity on this occasion for the feast given on 26, 27 and 28 of Caitra in the Samvat year 2006, corresponding to the Gregorian year 1950.

Table A.II.1
The Expenditure Incurred by the Deputy Commissioner, Chambā, in 1950 (Samvat 2006) for the feast of Sūhī-fair

(All weighted items are in *maṇa-seer*; the small quantity, *māśā* is indicated as M; the money indicated is in terms of *Rupee-Ānnā-Paisā*, and is the total amount, not a price per *seer*).

Rice (Bāsmatī) 0–29 ½ (11–12–9); rice (*Begamī*) 13–23 (167–1–3); *dāla Canā* 1–10 (16–10–6); *dāla moong* 1–14 (18–0–0); tamarind seeds 0–23 (8–10–6); salt 0–20 (1–10–6); *ghee* 1–20 (108–0–0); mustard oil 0–6 ½ (7–8–0); local vegetable oil 0–4 ½ (3–9–6); sugar 0–26 (77–4–6); *gaṭṭī* 0–2 ¾ (3–10–6); peas? (1–14–0); *dākh*-raisins 0–3 ¼ (2–2–6); almonds 0–2 ¼ (2–4–0); ginger 0–½ (0–6–6); coriander 0–1 ½ (0–9–6); cumin seeds 0–2 ½ (1–10–6); red chillies 0–1 (0–13–0); cardamom 4 M (1–8–0); jaggery 0–9 ½ (3–7–3); saffron 6M (3–0–0); *ail'dāna*-black cardamom (1–0–0); cinnamon sticks? (1–0–0); green chillies? (0–4–0); asafoetida? (0–12–0); tobacco 0–2 ½ (0–12–0); cloves 0–½ (1–3–0); potato? (0–4–0); pomegranate seeds 0–2 ½ (2–0–2); fennel seeds 0–½ (0–4–3); colour? (0–1–0); hemp-rope 0–½ (0–4–0); *dorī*-thread 0–1 (0–8–0); *nindlī*? (0–9–0); spices 0–1 (0–10–0).

Total expenditure 384–12–0

Mutton @ 0–8–0/*seer*, for three days as per
27th of Caitra 22 *seer*; 28th of Caitra 22 *seer*; and 29th of Caitra 30 *seer*.

Total expenditure 37–0–0

Curd, milk and boor (for garnishing the curd), for three days as per
Curd—27th of Caitra 10 *seer* (2–0–0); 28th of Caitra 10 *seer* (2–0–0); and 29th of Caitra 15 *seer* (3–0–0).
Būra—27th of Caitra 16 *seer* (20–11–0); 28th of Caitra 16 *seer* (20–11–0); and 29th of Caitra 16 *seer* (20–11–0).
Milk @ 6–0–0/maṇa—a *maṇa* of milk each, for all three days; also worth 1–2–0 more on 29th of Caitra
Butter Milk @ 0–12–0/*batti*—18 *battis* for three days

Total expenditure 71–15–0

Fuel-wood @ 0–8–0/*seer*, for three days as per
27th of Caitra worth 16–8–0; 28th of Caitra 18–6–0; and 29th of Caitra 148–0–0.

Total expenditure 48–14–0

Wheat flour and corn flour for three days for the *sañja* (sweetened bread made in *ghee*) of the deity and for evening meals to people
Wheat flour 9 *seer* (1–12–9) and corn flour15 *seer* (1–14–0)

Total expenditure 3–10–9

Leaf-plates (*patlī*) 1181 (11–12–0); leaf-bowls (*dune*) 1650 (4–2–0); straw seats (*binne*) 26 (0–9–0); hand-towels (*hath-thapde*) 70 (0–1–6)

Total expenditure 16–8–6

For arrangements (nos. 9–15), like kerosene, purchasing ceramic and copper utensils, etc. and wages to the
Two main cooks @ 4–0–0
Two helping cooks @ 1–8–0
Two helpers @ 1–0–0
Four particular day and night (24hrs) helpers/distributors, @ 2–0–0
Ceramic cooking cauldrons (*Hāndī*) 10 (4–6–0); pitchers 4 (1–8–0); copper *baltoi* 4 (8–0–0); plates 3 (0–15–0)

Total expenditure 115–15–0

Offerings made by the Manager of the Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa temple on the behalf of the administration
Offering 1–0–0; sweets 3–0–0

Total expenditure incurred by the administration 675–7–3
Signed

Source: Manager, *Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Complex, Register 27 (A) formerly Aa (Sa), III.*

A GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH TERMS

Ābādī ṭīkā	Inhabited area or the area demarcated as habitat
Ādālat Diwānī	Civil Court
Agrahāra	Hereditary rent free grant usually made to the Brāhmaṇas as priests
Āham	The mantra that contemplates both Śaiva and Śākta principles as a 'Non-Dual' whole
Amīl	Contract revenue collector. Also known as Nāzim and Mustajir
Ānnā	One-sixteenth of a rupee
Antyeṣṭhī	Funerary rites
Anuttara parākṛyā	The 'supreme reality'
Apabhramśa	Vernacular or the distorted/local form of the pure/ classical/ Sanskrit/sanskritic
Ast/u/ī	Mortal remains (*ast/u/ī* or bones and ash)
Autaṛ	The spirit of a woman who dies childless. It can be malicious and is therefore appeased by wearing a commemorative pendant in Chambā
Bāch	A fixed portion of the cash revenue drawn from tenants
Bāhan	Literally, the carrier. Used for the motifs associated with the goddess as the carrier of power
Bahī	An account book
Bakśī	Paymaster, or treasurer
Baṭāī	The relative shares of the agriculturists to be divided between the landlords and their tenants
Barselā	Commemorative stone. It was a royal prerogative in Manḍī, where it was raised in the honour of dead
Bartan	Reciprocal offering
Bāzaar	Street lined with shops
Begār	Forced or slave labour
Begārūs	Those who performed forced labour
Bhāga	Tax in proportion to productivity which was usually one-sixth

Bhajan	Devotional song, in praise of the deity
Bhāng	Indian hemp (canabis), a narcotic
Bhāṣā	Vernacular or the native-language
Bhaṭa	Regular trooper
Bhoga	Consecrated food. Offerings made to the deity at specific time of the day
Bhoga	As explained by Medhatithi, it refers to the rights of the state to fruits or fuel wood etc.
Bhūta	Ghost; also used as time reference for the past
Bhūtaghai	Destroyer of the evil spirit
Bīr/Vīra	Hero, or the hero-godling
Brahma-deya	The land separated from tax-holding and set apart for the Brāhmaṇa families
Cakrundā	Payment made in lieu of providing service
Cāmara, Caurī	Whisk, a royal privilege also extended to the divinity
Cāraja	The funerary priest; the one who live by offerings made at death, or rites associated with death. They form the lowest sub-caste among the Brāhmaṇas (they are not even considered Brāhmaṇa by the orthodox) and are equated with the Śudras
Caru	Cooked food for oblation
Cār, Chār	A low level revenue official in Chambā
Cāṭa	A casual (not-regular) trooper
Ciṭolā	The plantain
Celā	The priest or diviner, or oracle of low caste. He also acts, in a limited way, as a shaman and is a faith healer
Celan	The low caste priestess, as also a sorceress, oracle and faith healer
Chaḍī	The staff
Chaukīdār, Chowkīdār	The night watchman
Dachaṇā, dakṣiṇā	Sacrifical fee due to the priest
Ḍaḍḍā	Dry sheath covering the bamboo stem
Ḍaḷa	The lake
Dāla	Lentils (the pulses)
Dāna	Religious or spiritual donation made to the shrine or priest

Darśaṇa	Seeing the deity or the sacred sight
Deotā	An area specific godling of local derivation and faith
Dervīśa	The Muslim-ascetic
Deśa-rīta	Customary dues
Dhākī	The wizard
Dharmārtha	Rent-free grant to the religious establishment
Dhotī	Loin cloth or the lower garment wrapped around the waist, mostly by men
Dīkṣā	Initiation
Dīvā/dīpaka	Earthen lamp
Diwānī	The Civil Court
Drammas	Drachmas, the currency in use in the early medieval period. Also called the Dāma
Dūna dāthar	Donations and fee for protection
Duśehrā	A festival signifying the triumph of good over evil. It commemorates the victory of Rāma over Rāvaṇa, the demon king. It gained currency particularly in the medieval times and in the eighteenth century in the Himachal Himalaya
Durbār	An audience chamber, reception, the royal court
Dvija	The twice born castes, or those who have been initiated
Fak(qu)īr	Religious mendicant
Farmān or Firmān	An edict or a grant
Faslānā	The traditional agricultural payment made in kind at the end of seasonal harvesting. Also known as *sakatā*
Faujadār	First-class Magistrate
Faujadārī	Criminal Court
Faujadārī Ādālat	Court of the Chief Magistrate
Garbha-gṛha	The cella or the sanctum sanctorum of the temple where the icon/idol is located
Gaddi	Throne; the seat of the ruler
Gaddī(s)	The western Himalayan transhumant shepherds
Gānjā	Hashish
Ghaḍā	Earthenware pot, or pitcher
Ghāṇī	The oil press

Ghar	House
Gharāṭa	Water mill
Gharū bāch	Cash paid from the *jāgīrdār's* purse
Ghee	Clarified butter
Gocara-puśkarī	Pastures for the daily use
Gram	Pulses or grain, a kind of pea, also used as horse fodder
Grāma	Village
Guru	The religious teacher
Garzang	Rent-free agricultural grant in Lahul
Gau-ghāt	Cow slaughter, one of the most heinous of the sins
Gau-kā-pun	Most virtuous act which exempted tax in Chamba. Literally, the merit arises out of providing service to the cows
Ghāṭ	Sacred pond or the bank on the river of pilgrimage importance where a holy dip is specified or necessitated
Godāna	The gift of cow. Such a gift to the Brāhmaṇa was a ritual obligation for the dying person
Grāma-devatā	Tutelary deity of the village, usually a non-sanskritic local deity
Gulāla	Dry red colour
Gur	Shaman, oracle, sorcerer, or exorcist
Guṛ	Jaggery
Haq buhā	Non-proprietary cess for the occupation of the residential plot
Halwāī	Grocer
Hastodaka	Rent-free land grant made on festive/ritual occasion
Hāṭa, Haṭṭa	The village provision store
Hiraṇya	Literally, the gold, perhaps the royal share in produce to be paid in kind
Ilāquā	Territory; a subdivision
Inām	Rent-free grant for services rendered
Jaddī	Hereditary
Jāmā	Revenue
Jāmābandī	Fixing the revenue due; used for land settlement
Jaggery	The unrefined sugar
Jāgīr	Assignment of land or of land revenue held by a-Jāgīrdār

Jajmān(i)	System of reciprocal exchange. Among the priests, as other service castes, the services and receivers are divided. The service sector of exchange (those receiving fee for ritual services) is *jajmānī* while the host (those giving/granting fee) is a *jajmāna*
Jakh	The guardian deity/shrine of cattle wealth. Perhaps a vernacular both in usage and form of the Sanskrit *Yakṣa*
Jaṭherā	Literally, the ancestor, or elder. Used in the foothills of Himalaya, as also in Panjab, as commemorative shrines/stones/idols for the ancestors
Jātrā	The procession, of a local pilgrimage, or a fair organised on the festive occasion
Jātr(ū)īs	Pilgrims
Jyotirlinga	One of the fifty-two exalted centres of Śaivism as enunciated by the *Śaiva-storas* (the eulogy of Śiva). Baijnāth is the contested site, a local appropriation of the sanskritic reference to the eastern area, and has been used as such in this study
Jyotiśī	Sanskritic astrologer. He bases his predictions arrived at mathematically from the positions of moon, sun, and planets, as depicted in the horoscope (the planetary configuration at the time of birth) in relation to those at the reference point of time
Kacāloo	Colocassia plant
Kalam	A pen made of bamboo
Kāmadār	Princely state administrative officer
Kāmin	Occupational castes or those who provided manual services
Kanāl	Land measure where one unit is equal to five hundred square yards (earlier 625 sq. yds.)
Kara	Land rent or 'property tax.'
Kaśtakār	Cultivating tenant
Kaula-pancha-dharma	Progenitor of the Nāth cult popular in Kashmir and eastern India

Kharīf	Autumn crop
Khās	Collection of revenue by subordinate revenue servants from individual raiyat
Khasrā	Field-book, result of survey showing fields and raiyats' possession and their relation to the zammdars
Khel or khelanā	Trance or the process of possession trance
Khidmatī	Service land grants
Khila	Land kept fallow
Khoṭa	Retribution
Khud-kāśta	Self-tilled land or the land that is self-cultivated
Khudi-kamiaṇī	Non-proprietary resident's cess also known as *kuri-kamiani*
Kīrtana	Community singing
Kohlikā	Canal or a rivulet-duct irrigated land
Kosidār-dāgī	Worker of the courtyard. A group of occupational castes in the Shimla hills and Sirmaur who provided domestic services. Also known as *kosidar kamian*
Koṭhi	Revenue headquarter or the revenue circle as in Chambā and Kullu
Kotwāl	The Chief of police; the manager of the shrine
Kṣatriya	The Warrior caste; the Rājpūts
Kṣetra	Territory or territoriality. Associated with the pilgrimage territory
Kuhl	Man made water-channel, mostly for irrigation purposes
Kula	Lineage
Kula	Literally, the family; conceived in Kashmir tantra as the 'embodied Cosmos'
Kumbha	Water pot
Kumhārs	Potters
Kuṇḍa	The water body, pond, water-well, tank
Lambardār	Village headman or Muqaddam representing the sharers in a Zamindārī village
Mahājans	The native bankers
Mahant	Literally, the abbot. The hereditary head of the religious monastic establishment associated with a particular school of the renouncers as Daśanāmī or the Nāth, etc.

Mahārājāh	The Hindu ruler of an Indian state
Mahārānī	The Hindu woman ruler; or the wife of a Mahārājāh
Mahāsiddhīs	Supernatural powers
Mahīṣamardiṇi	The slayer of the buffalo headed demon. An epithet to the early sanskritic goddess
Mālā	Rosary
Mālguzār	Person who pays revenue for himself or on behalf of others to the government or to a proprietor
Mālguzārī	Revenue
Malamala	Soft silk
Manautī	A wish expressed at the religious centre or by invoking the deity; also called *sukhaṇā*, after fulfilment of which a sacrifice is usually made as thanks-giving
Manḍala	Administrative division
Manḍala	The schematic ritual diagram
Mantra	A sacred Sanskrit 'phrase' used as an incantation
Marhī	Hutment
Marlā	Local land measure where a unit is equal to twenty-five square yards
Marusī	Cultivating proprietary right in land
Maśāla	A torch of wood
Matsya-avatāra	The first incarnation of Viṣṇu as a giant fish. It is believed that the concept was borrowed from the biblical Noah's arch. Appropriated for the Śaivite Nāth cult for Matsyendranāth, who is depicted as a fish
Maṭha	Monastery
Maund	Measure of weight, about 82.3 pounds
Mauzā	Revenue division constituted by several *tikas*, sometimes used for village
Misl-hāqiyāh	Register of title or deed or revenue
Mohallā	The vicinage; section or ward of a town
Moharā	Commemorative ancestral stone kept on the banks of the local/village stream, or the water spring used by the community
Mohur	Gold coins, particularly of the 'Sultanat' or Mughal period
Muāfī	Rent-free land usually granted in perpetuity
Mundaṇa	Tonsure. The sacrifice of hair of the male child to the clan deity as thanks-giving

Munsīf	Small cause judge or court
Muśtarīkā	Joint property
Muṭh	Death ritual where the antagonist is killed by invoking a particular ritual
Nāib	The Deputy
Nakārā	Double-drums
Nazar	The gift made as a tribute
Nazarānā	Fee payable by land holders on the succession of a new ruler
Nāzim	The Chief officer empowered to decide criminal cases
Nāzir	Court official
Nṛsimha	Incarnation of Vishnu with lion head and human torso that killed the demon king Hṛṇyakaśyapa to save the devout Prahlāda. A temple was erected in the tenth century at Brahmaur
Pagrī/munḍāse	The headdress wound around the head, a turban
Pahāriā	The hill-man; also, a malefic hills spirit
Paisā	A coin, 1/4 anna (now 1/100 rupee)
Palanquin or Palkī	A litter
Pān	The Betel leaf chewed usually after meals
Pañcāyata	The basic administrative unit at village level
Panḍit	Teacher; a learned man; a title of the Brāhmaṇas
Panjah-pirī	Literally, the five saints. Syncretic worship popular in the areas of Chamba and Shimla where five icons, across the religious divide, are worshipped as one, housed in the same shrine
Parā	The transcendent force
Parganā	A term used interchangeably with *tehsīl* during the early years of British rule in Kāngrā. In Chambā it was used used for the subdivision of a *wazarat*
Paroḷa	Doorway
Paṭṭā	The deed of grant; lease
Paṭwārī	Village accountant and record keeper
Pice, Paisā	Copper coins of small value; a generic term for money
Pie	1/12 anna

Pinḍa-dāna	Presentation of the rice balls to the manes or the ancestors
Piṇḍī	A flat stone that is not anthropomorphic, usually depicting the local deities
Pitṛ or pitar	Ancestors
Polacya	The cultivated wet land
Pradakśiṇā-patha	The path of circumambulation around the cella or the idol, keeping to the right or in the direction of the clock
Prāṇa-dāna	The gift of the self. The most exalted form of death by mortification/austerity/ meditation at specific centres as at Kāśī
Prasāda	Consecrated food; the left over or the consecrated food of the deity (as in *bhoga*) to be distributed to the devotees or the distributed ritual food offerings
Praśasti	An inscribed eulogy
Pratipadā (*praviṣṭhe*)	Solar dates
Pratiṣṭhā	Consecration ceremony
Pucch	Divination by an oracle
Pūjā	Worship; paying obeisance to; ritual offering of prayer
Pujārī	The Brāhmaṇa priest who officiates the domestic rituals or by implication intercedes in the temple between the deity and worshippers
Rābī	Spring crop
Rāṇī	The queen or the princess
Raśesvara	The alchemist. A school among the Nath cult that believed that immortality could be attained by perfecting the knowledge and usage of chemicals and the derivatives of various herbs
Rāśī	Lunar zodiac sign
Raudra	Fierce or terrifying; the deity who aids in war
Rokā	Payment made in cash
Rudra	An epithet of Śiva that refers to the destructive aspect, also qualified as Mahā rudra later on. In its Vedic association Rudra does not have pleasant connotations. Rudra was a minor god

	who was followed by howling dogs and the hosts of the dead. In all probability Rudra was a pre-Vedic god that was assimilated into the Vedic pantheon
Rupee	Currency used in the medieval and post-Independence India which is made of 16 ānnās, now 100 paise
Sadā-vrata	Literally, the perennial vow; an alms-institution
Śajrā-nasab	Genealogical table
Samādhī	Cenotaph, grave or tomb of the ascetics. Unlike the sanskritic tradition of cremation by burning for an average 'Hindu', the renouncers were buried in a posture other than lying, and a tomb erected that was venerated by the laity
Sāmagarī	Ritual objects offered to the deity
Sandhayā	The Vedic prayer offered at dusk and dawn
Sanyāsis	Śaivite renouncers
Samvat	The 'year' according to Vikrama era
Sarkār	The Government or ruling power
Ṣaṭa-karmārtaya	Six-fold duties
Sattra	Perpetual alms
Segaṇa	An organisation to collect toll tax; derived from Tibetan *Sogampā* meaning a custom-house
Sepoy	Infantry soldier or a policeman
Sehan va gwār	Courtyard and a cowshed
Siddhī	Miraculous power that could be attained by following certain *haṭha-yogic* or body-centric practices
Siddha-sahāya	The benefactor of the Siddhas or the one who provided shelter to the Siddhas. An epithet of Mahārājā Sansar Chand Katoch of Kāngrā
Śikār	Big-game hunting
Śikārī	Hunter
Śrādha	An offering made to ancestors, usually three immediate paternal and maternal forefathers, after performing funerary rites, at fixed time intervals
Stotra	Hymn of praise
Śuddhi	Ritual purification. Also a movement aimed at purifying and including the converts in the 'Hindu' religious fold, spearheaded in Panjab by the Ārya Samāj in the early twentieth century
Suratrṇa	Sultān-Rājā

Takīnā-byāz	The traditional fee for processing loan at the rate of 6 ½ rupees per hundred rupees in Sirmaur deducted at source while making a loan. It is charged over and above the interest agreed upon the principal
Takāvi	Advances of money or grain to cultivators in hard times or famine
Ṭaṇkā	Copper penny
Ṭhākur	Chieftain; a Rājpūt landlord; later metamorphosed into a caste title used by the Rājpūts
Thāṇā	Police station; the seat of the deity
Toḷā	Measure of weight, less than 1/2 ounce or 11.6 grams (now, 10 grams)
Tapas	Austerity or meditation
Tehsīl	The largest administrative/revenue unit within a subdivision which in turn is the largest administrative unit of a district. It formed the largest revenue unit of some princely states, such as Sirmaur
Tehsīldār	Revenue officer who was in charge of a tālukā; a 'native' officer responsible for the collection of tax in a tālukā under the British government
Ṭhākur	Chief, both subordinate as well as autonomous. It later metamorphosed into a caste title used by the Rājpūts
Ṭhākurāī	Baronies (as Hutchison and Vogel call them). The fiefdoms or the principality of the local chieftain, the Ṭhākur
Tithīs	Dates based on the lunar reckoning
Ṭīkā	Basic revenue unit, the sub-division of *mauza*
Tilaka	Sectarian mark etched on the forehead of the devotees and particularly of the renouncers of a sect. It acts like a physical identity marker
Tīrthas	Pilgrim centres
Ṭhaṅḍāī	Sherbet; cold beverage
Toddy	Local intoxicating beverage used particularly in the western India
Tri-Sandhyā	Tripartite part of a ritual consisting of the *saṃkalpa* (intention), *pradāna* (offering) and *prīti* (propitiation)
Tṛṇī	Tax to make hay in meadows or grasslands
Turuṣka	Literally, a Turk; used for the 'cultural or religious outsider'

Ugra-roopa	The angry manifestation of the sanskritic goddess as Kālī, Caṇḍī, etc.
Vamśavalī	Genealogy. In this study, the genealogies of the royal household of Chambā and Kāngrā are used
Vādī	Temporary dwelling
Vairāgī	The Vaiṣṇava renouncer
Vaṃṣa	Clan
Vāpya	Tank irrigated land
Wāris	Title-holder or the inheritor
Wārisī	The title or inheritance
Wazīr	Minister. Also as a 'lesser' minister of the 'greater god'
Wazārat	The largest pre-British administrative subdivision of some of the bigger princely states such as Chambā

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